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Mechanized Collation:
A Preliminary Report*

By CHARLTON HINMAN

AMONG the major labors of critical bibliography are at least two kinds of detailed textual comparison, or collation: the comparison of different *editions* of a given work and the comparison of different *copies* of the same edition. We shall here be concerned only with the second of these two kinds.

The importance of the very detailed collation of different copies of the same edition is now widely recognized: such collation is our sole means of obtaining the fullest possible record of the variant readings which, particularly in books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, different copies of the same edition so frequently contain. These variants, and especially the variants which are the result of systematic stop-press correction (of changes deliberately introduced, that is, during the course of the printing), have two primary values as bibliographical evidence, a

* Read at the Society's meeting held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, on 3 January 1947, where Dr. Hinman illustrated his paper by a demonstration of the "machine" herein discussed, showing collations of corresponding (but variant) pages from different Folger copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare. A similar report was made before the Bibliographical Evidence Section of the Modern Language Association of America at its recent meeting in Washington.

general value and a particular. They have much to tell us about early printing-house methods and techniques generally; and they *may*, at least, have a great deal to teach us about the specific text under scrutiny in particular. Even when merely negative, evidence from collation is likely to be useful in textual studies; and sometimes it is excitingly positive. Exciting or not, however, the collation of different copies of the same edition is now acknowledged to be an absolutely essential step in innumerable editorial projects; and it sometimes has very considerable value quite apart from the light that it may be able to throw upon particular texts. Dr. Greg's monograph on the variants in the Pide Bull *Lear*¹ provides an almost perfect illustration of both the particular and the general values of collation of this sort.

At present, however, collation is one of the most arduous and time-consuming of all possible bibliographical activities — and often, although fortunately by no means always, one of the dullest. Hence it will surely be agreed that a mechanical device which would make accurate, high-speed collation possible would scarcely be unwelcome to bibliographers. It would be useful, first of all, in hosts of relatively small-scale collation tasks: in making it the work of a day or two rather than of a month or two to collate the eight extant first quartos of this work or the six surviving copies of that. And perhaps even more important, such a device would for the first time bring large-scale collation within the realm of practical possibility. The collation of a large number of the 230-odd surviving First Folios of Shakespeare, for example, has long been contemplated. The results of such a collation would inevitably be of very great interest both generally, to all students of critical bibliography, and specifically, to students and to editors of the text of Shakespeare. The time and labor required for collation on so large a scale have hitherto, of course, rendered

¹ W. W. Greg, *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear': A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry* (London, 1940).

it impracticable; but given a satisfactory mechanical aid, large-scale collations of this sort could at last be undertaken.

Such a device would almost certainly have numerous other values to bibliographical investigation as well. It would be useful in the detection of cancels and of resettings and of various kinds of faking and forgery; and it would greatly simplify the study of other bibliographical problems, such as the peculiarities of the headlines in a given book — problems not necessarily involving the detailed collation of texts. Possibly, indeed, such a device would have considerable utility entirely outside the bibliographical world; but probably to most of us the device now in question would be most useful simply as a collation aid — as my instrument has so far been to me.

It should be said at once that the device now in question is not yet entirely perfected; and hence that these remarks must be regarded rather as a preliminary report than as a final statement. Last summer, through the courtesy and with the constant and generous coöperation of the Director and of the Staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library (to say nothing of various kinds of help furnished by a number of private individuals as well as by the Veterans' Administration, the Navy, the Bureau of Standards, and numerous other government agencies), I finally managed, after many false starts, to set up in the Folger Library an instrument by means of which I could actually collate corresponding pages of different copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare at something like fifty times the speed at which I could collate the same pages without mechanical aid.² But before I could actually collate at this speed I had to microfilm, with special apparatus and with great care, the pages to be compared, and then to mount the microfilm in slides; and thereafter, during the actual collation process, I had to spend considerable time making mechanical adjustments of a very exact kind. The photographic process, since it is more or less independent of the collation process proper,

² Patent on this instrument was applied for during the summer of 1946.

need not be considered at the moment; but I should like to say a word or two here, if only by way of disclaimer, about the time required for mechanical adjustments. My machine is made of a pair of ordinary microfilm projectors (borrowed from the Navy), some pieces of a wooden apple box (abstracted from a trash pile), some heavy cardboard (begged from the Folger bindery), and parts of a rusty Erector set (more or less hi-jacked from the small son of a close personal friend). With such materials, and with an almost complete innocence of even the most elementary knowledge either of optics or of mechanical engineering, I was not able to construct a very finished instrument. The gadget that I finally managed to set up — and actually to do some collating with — is really very crude indeed. Much awkward tinkering and countless little experiments have convinced me, however, that even my rough experimental instrument is capable of *indicating*, at least, the way in which really efficient high-speed collation is eventually to be realized; and reliable optical instrument manufacturers have assured me that a suitable instrument for this purpose *can* be made — a relatively simple but finished instrument with which all required adjustments can quickly and easily be effected (as, with my crude trial instrument, they cannot all be).

I can perhaps best give an idea of what, essentially, this instrument is and how it works by telling the story that finally put me on what I believe is the right track. I have since learned that the story itself is not true; but the underlying optical principles, happily, remain sound.

According to the story it was one of our common wartime practices to send a plane out to photograph a given target area soon after an attack on that area; and then, shortly before a new attack, to send out another plane to photograph the same area from the same position — or at least from as nearly the same position as possible. The problem was that of discovering any changes

in the enemy's fortifications (gun emplacements and the like) since the time of the first photograph; and this problem was said to have been solved in the following manner. The two pictures were thrown upon a single large screen. They were not thrown upon this screen simultaneously, however, but alternately: first one picture for a fraction of a second, then the other picture for the same brief period, then the first picture again, and so on. The result was — or at any rate was supposed to be — that wherever there had been no change in the target area since it had first been photographed the screen showed only a single, perfectly motionless picture of that area; but that wherever there had been a change the picture on the screen flickered or wobbled, more or less violently depending upon the extent of the difference recorded by the two cameras.

Although there are several good reasons why this procedure would not be likely to succeed in aerial reconnaissance of the kind described, these reasons do not apply to the process of collating books by the utilization of the same fundamental principles — or, in general, of rapidly comparing any largely similar *flat* surfaces which can easily be placed, *without tilt*, at *exactly the same distance* from the lens of a camera. And the instrument now in question is based on precisely these principles. Microfilm images of the two pages to be collated are projected to the same screen from each of two projectors, and the two images are exactly superimposed. Superimposition having been achieved, the alternation of the two pages is begun. This is accomplished by setting in motion an extremely simple subordinate mechanism by which the projection lenses of the two projectors are alternately covered and uncovered — at any desired speed, since the occulting mechanism is controlled by a rheostat. The result of this process is, of course, that the screen shows a single, motionless picture of the page in question wherever the two exemplars being compared are identical, but that variants produce very prominent wobbles or flickers.

And thus, almost at a glance, differences are strikingly apparent. Needless to say, even the finally perfected collation instrument will not tell us what the variants mean. It will, however, permit us to discover their existence and their positions far more rapidly than heretofore — and, with certain qualifications which are associated with the preliminary photographic process, quite as surely and as accurately.

It will perhaps have been noticed that I passed rather quickly, in the foregoing account, over the superimposition step. It is here, of course, that the need for rapid, easy, and precise adjustment arises. For although slight departures from perfect register can be tolerated, the superimposition must be fairly exact. With crude equipment it is not always possible to get sufficiently exact register *quickly*; but experiments have indicated that, given the adjustment devices that can be expected in a finished instrument, this difficulty will be largely resolved. And it may be worth observing here that even pages which are in fact distinctly wedge-shaped in relation to each other, by reason of paper shrinkage or stretching, can be brought into perfect register on a screen; and that, although some kinds of shrinkage or stretching cannot be optically rectified, such extreme irregularities as would render mechanized collation impossible appear to be very rare.

Since we shall eventually have, I believe, a somewhat different and far more efficient instrument, I shall not attempt a detailed description of the merely experimental form. But I should like to say a few words here about the relation of the photographic process to mechanized collation; for even a finished instrument of the kind we have so far been discussing will require the micro-filming of the books to be collated by its aid.

It may be observed in passing, first of all, that photographic reproductions are simply not always *wholly* reliable at best. But assuming that, as a general rule, they are sufficiently reliable for use in ordinary collation projects, the fact yet remains that the time required to microfilm a book for the purposes of mechanized

collation is almost as great as the time required for the actual collation. If, therefore, mechanized collation could be effected without the need for a preliminary photographic process, both a great deal of time and a considerable amount of expense could be avoided. Why, then, must we use microfilm? The answer is, I believe, that we need not — *always*. But collation machines are not likely to be easily portable; and whenever we are obliged to collate books that cannot be brought together, the only solution may well be, still, the use of reproductions. And when perfected collation instruments using such reproductions are readily available to bibliographers it may be possible so to standardize rare-book microfilming procedures that it will be relatively easy to collate, with mechanical aid and at high speed, the often very widely scattered copies of the books that we study as critical bibliographers. The collation device of which we have been speaking was made with this end in view.

Nevertheless, there is certainly also a great deal of collating to be done that does not require the use of microfilm reproductions — because the originals themselves are readily available. Hence what we really need is two different collation instruments: one for work with originals, to be used whenever possible in preference to the other, the one which works with reproductions.

It once seemed clear that any device which would permit the projection of such large objects as folio pages would require light, and therefore heat, of an intensity so great as to endanger the pages themselves. It now seems almost certain, however, that a collation device which works directly with originals, and even with very large originals, need not subject these originals to any more risk of damage than microfilming does. Such a device would utilize the same fundamental principles as the other, but would project images of opaque objects rather than of films. President Jackson tells me, indeed, that just such a device was nearly perfected at Harvard several years ago. Wartime shortages stopped work on it before it could be put into operation; yet there is little

doubt but that a finished instrument of this kind is now possible too.

I believe, therefore, that we shall eventually be able to collate different copies of the same edition far more easily than at present, whether these copies are already at hand in one place or are scattered over a large part of the world; — and to collate as many copies in one year as would now take fifty. What we need first, of course, is a few of the *perfected* tools.

Marketing a Best Seller: Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*

By LEON T. DICKINSON

SHORTLY after Mark Twain returned from the "Quaker City" Holy Land excursion in November, 1867, he contracted with the American Publishing Company of Hartford to write a book about his travels. Relying heavily on the newspaper dispatches he had sent to the San Francisco *Alta California*, but altering them and adding new matter,¹ Clemens worked hard to meet his publisher's deadline. By August 1, 1868, he had turned over his manuscript to Elisha Bliss, Jr., president of the Hartford firm, and when the first copy came from the presses on July 20, 1869, the great promotional campaign began.

The story of that campaign is an interesting one. It reveals Mark Twain as an eager promoter. Too, it sheds light on the perennial question: What makes a best seller? Finally, it should remind today's booksellers that, in the passing of the old-time subscription house, they have a lot to be thankful for.

The success of *The Innocents Abroad* was probably due to a combination of factors. Any one factor alone would have insured a respectable sale; together they made for an unprecedented success. To begin with, Clemens had a popular subject. Something new in the way of summer outings, the "Quaker City" excursion had caused quite a stir over the country. Preparations for the trip were attended, at least in New York, with considerable public interest.² Then too, once under way the pilgrimage was well re-

¹ I have treated the alterations and additions in a forthcoming article in *American Literature*.

² Several New York newspapers ran stories about the excursion. (See, e.g., the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, the *Brooklyn Union*, and the *New York Sun*, June 8, 1867.)

ported from abroad. Mrs. Solon Severance, a "Quaker City" pilgrim from Cleveland, wrote in her journal that among the passengers there were "at least a dozen correspondents for different papers."³ Their dispatches, appearing as they did in newspapers published in the largest cities in the country,⁴ reached a wide audience. Furthermore, it is likely, in a day when newspaper "exchanges" were the rule, that some of these letters were reprinted in smaller papers about the country. Possibly some of Clemens' letters were thus reprinted;⁵ so, at least, one might infer from a statement that appeared in the *Albany Journal*: "Random letters from [Mark Twain's] pen, describing certain features of that voyage, have had wide circulation." These letters, the writer continued, were only a sample: "Thus made acquainted by 'special sips' of the author's quality, we rejoiced when informed that his 'experiences' were to be embodied in a volume."⁶ It was no wonder that four different publications, reviewing *The Innocents Abroad*, spoke of the "Quaker City" excursion as "famous."⁷ Famous it certainly was. Stuart Sherman was no doubt right, therefore, in pointing out that the book's initial success was due "partly to the wide interest which the excursion itself had excited."⁸

Quite as important a factor in the book's wide sale as the attraction of its novel subject was the manner in which it was sold.

The fact that P. T. Barnum was sending a representative was good for a story; and the press became quite concerned, as the sailing date approached, as to whether Henry Ward Beecher would or would not join the expedition.

³ [Julia Severance Millikin (ed.)], *Journal Letters of Emily A. Severance. "Quaker City" 1867* (Cleveland, The Gates Press, 1938), p. 33.

⁴ These correspondents wrote for newspapers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis, and San Francisco, not to mention a few smaller cities.

⁵ According to Noah Brooks, an editor of the *Alta California* in 1867, California papers copied Clemens' *Alta* letters in spite of copyright. See *Mark Twain in California*, in: *Century*, XXXV, n.s., 98 (Nov., 1898).

⁶ Reprinted in the *Buffalo Express*, Oct. 9, 1869.

⁷ *Ibid.*, reprinting excerpts from *Packard's Monthly*, the *Albany Journal*, the *Albany Argus*, and the *Albany Express*.

⁸ *Mark Twain*, in: *Cambridge History of American Literature*, eds., William P. Trent and others (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921), III, 8.

The books of the American Publishing Company were, so read the company's letterhead and practically all its advertising, "Sold by subscription only." Although business in the "regular" book trade was slow in 1869 — was, indeed, suffering a marked depression⁹ — subscription publishing at that time was thriving. A. D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi* had sold 150,000 copies by 1874. So had J. T. Headley's *The Great Rebellion*. Even as insipid a travel book as *A Woman's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (1871) sold well. In spite of the fact that Mrs. Griswold, the author, as the *New York Times* said, labored "under the disadvantage of having to glean in a field which 'Mark Twain' had already harvested," and although, as the *Times* put it, "the world would not have been greatly the loser if [the volume] had never been written,"¹⁰ still *A Woman's Pilgrimage* sold 20,000 copies.¹¹ Successes like this led *Publishers' Weekly* to lament in an editorial that "many of the best-selling books . . . of the past two years have not gone into the hands of the trade at all, indeed have not been sent to the newspapers for review."¹²

Occasionally the trade journals had a good word to say for subscription publishing. "By promoting the completion of the work begun by the schoolmaster," one article stated, "and fostering in

⁹ One trade journal wrote in 1868: "The condition of the trade remains on the whole quiet, and the current book business unsatisfactory" (*American Publisher and Book Seller*, Octavo Series, [New York, G. R. Cathcart], I, 3 [June, 1868]). More than a year later the situation was no better: "The book-trade continues dull. . . . The whole Fall business of 1869 has been eminently unsatisfactory" (*Ibid.*, II, 11 [Nov. and Dec., 1869]). *Appletons' Cyclopedia* in 1869, apparently drawing information for its article on "Literature" from the various trade journals, assigned the following causes to the depression in the regular book trade: (1) Poverty of general business conditions. (2) Tariff favoring foreign book manufacture at the expense of the American trade. (3) Increased prominence of periodicals and newspapers as "sources of literary nutriment to the mass of readers." (4) "Draft made on the mental energies of the American people by the important public and social questions demanding attention." (5) Absence of an international copyright; European authors favored. (Article *Literature*, in: *American [Appletons'] Annual Cyclopedia*, IX [1869].)

¹⁰ Oct. 17, 1871.

¹¹ The figures cited above appeared in an article in the *New York Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1874, which was based on an interview with Elisha Bliss, Jr.

¹² III, 217 (No. 9, March 1, 1873).

the minds of the people a taste for literature, [traveling booksellers] thus, by their intelligence and enterprise, confer a great and lasting benefit upon the commonwealth.”¹³ Most of the journals, however, simply ignored the subscription business. *The American Publisher and Book Seller*, for instance, in giving its “annual summary” of the trade for 1869,¹⁴ does not so much as mention *The Innocents Abroad*. When the journals did recognize subscription publishers, usually it was either to refer enviously to a current subscription success,¹⁵ or to complain of their rivals’ unscrupulous methods. One such complaint was possibly justified: the charge that subscription books were “dumped” (no doubt by tired itinerants) upon booksellers in cities, was a legitimate one. But this practice was not fostered nor even condoned by the subscription publishers; in fact twelve subscription houses in Hartford signed an agreement to refrain from putting their books into the hands of book dealers or from permitting their agents to do so.¹⁶

The American Publishing Company, as perhaps the leading subscription house at the time, was of course the object of much of the trade’s resentment. The feeling was apparently quite strong in the fall of 1869, for Bliss wrote to Clemens: “Book dealers are giving us a fierce fight, but I am enough for them.”¹⁷ Apparently he was, and so were other subscription publishers. For while the regular trade deplored business conditions and grumbled about subscription houses, the latter continued to do an enormous business.

It is clear why subscription sales flourished. Rural America in 1870, as Allan Nevins points out, was an active market:

¹³ *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular*, XIII, 249 (No. 9, Sept. 1, 1869).

¹⁴ III, 3 (No. 22, Feb., 1870).

¹⁵ See, e.g., a reference to Richardson’s *Beyond the Mississippi* in: *American Publisher and Book Seller*, III, 4 (No. 21, Jan., 1870).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 7 (No. 22, Feb., 1870).

¹⁷ Letter dated Hartford, Nov. 1, 1869. (Mark Twain Papers. This and subsequent items quoted from the Mark Twain Papers are printed by permission of the Estate of Samuel L. Clemens and Harper & Brothers. For the privilege of examining the Mark Twain Papers I am indebted to Mr. Bernard De Voto.)

The American people in thousands of communities were . . . simply starved of well-selected books. They did not see good titles advertised; they found it difficult to buy if they did see; and they had no opportunity to borrow. Only the subscription agent gave them a casual link with literature.¹⁸

Also, the contents of subscription books — sentiment, edification, moralizing, travel, adventure — as well as their format — large size, large type, much gold embossing, and plenty of illustrations — were calculated to appeal to readers in the back country.¹⁹ This market and product called for a peculiar merchandising technique.

The standard procedure, said a contemporary, involved, first of all, securing agents:

When a new subscription book is published, 25,000 circulars descriptive of its merits are sent to agents in all parts of the country, the publishers already having

¹⁸ *The Emergence of Modern America*, Vol. VIII, *A History of American Life*, eds., Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1935), p. 244. Whether people in the hinterland actually wanted the books is a moot point. George Ade doubted that they did: "Nobody really wanted these books. They were purchased because the agents knew how to sell them, and they seemed large for the price, and, besides, every well-furnished home had to keep something on the center table. . . . The publisher knew his public, so he gave a pound of book for every fifty cents, and crowded in plenty of wood-cuts" (*Mark Twain and the Old Time Subscription Book*, in: *Review of Reviews* [New York], XLI, 704 [June, 1910]). Ade goes on to say that most of the subscription books were "dry picking" for boys, and that when Clemens' book appeared it was especially welcome by virtue of its superiority over the general run of subscription books. Bret Harte made the same point when he reviewed Clemens' book. Unless the rural reader had read Mark Twain in the newspapers, Harte wrote, he probably would not read him until "he takes from the parlor table of a country farm-home an illustrated Bible, Greeley's *American Conflict*, Mr. Parton's apocryphal *Biographies*, successively and listlessly, and so comes at last upon 'Mark Twain's' *Innocents* like a joyous revelation — an Indian spring in an alkaline literary desert" (*Overland Monthly*, IV, 100 [Jan., 1870]).

¹⁹ "The Bible had the place of honor [on the center table in the parlor] and was flanked by subscription books. . . . The new books came a year apart, and each . . . had to be so thick and heavy and emblazoned with gold that it could keep company with the bulky and high-priced Bible" (Ade, *Review of Reviews*, XLI, 703).

A contemporary reviewer of Clemens' book, seeking to explain why the volume contained so much of what he thought was deadwood, wrote that "the rural district reader likes to see that he has got his money's worth even more than he likes wood-engravings. At least, such is the faith in Hartford; and no man ever saw a book-agent with a small volume in his hand" (*Nation*, IX, 195 [Sept. 2, 1869]).

The regular trade complained that subscription publishers "flood the country with worthless books, poorly written, poorly printed and bound, containing a small amount of matter in large type and with wide margins to the page, for a large price" (*New York Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1874).

some of the names on their list, and some of them being obtained by means of advertising for agents. Out of this number from 1,000 to 5,000 will seize the book.²⁰

A typical advertisement, citing the virtues of subscription publishing and appealing for agents, appeared in the final pages of the first edition of *The Innocents Abroad*. It reads, in part, as follows:

Selling books by subscription. The American Publishing Company of Hartford, Conn., are engaged in the publication of rare and valuable Standard Works, selling them by subscription only.

By this method they reach directly the whole reading public, multiply their sales ten fold, and place the works in the hands of thousands whose attention otherwise would not be called to them. This enables the publishers not only to give honorable and remunerative employment to a very large class of worthy persons acting as agents, but to expend largely upon their books in their preparation and publication, to illustrate them profusely and to sell them at much lower prices than works of equal cost are sold by the regular trade. They also are enabled by this method to maintain an uniformity of price throughout the country, and to see that all subscribers receive what they actually contract for.

The American Publishing Company have universally given better books than they promised. They look back with gratification over their list, and the unqualified praise each volume has received from the press and the public. They publish nothing but books worthy a place in the libraries of the educated and the refined; and such books, by their system of agents, they bring to the direct notice of almost every person in the country. No recommendations are given to the public except those sent from voluntary sources; and no unworthy means are taken to procure them.

We Want Agents Throughout the Country. The sale of our works is an honorable and praiseworthy employment, and is particularly adapted to disabled Soldiers, aged and other Clergymen having leisure hours, Teachers and Students during vacation, &c., Invalids unable to endure hard physical labor, Young Men who wish to travel and gather knowledge and experience by contact with the world, and all who can bring industry, perseverance, and a determined will to the work. *Women who can devote time to the work, often make the best of canvassers.* Our terms to agents are very liberal; we give exclusive territory to operate in; Catalogue and Circulars sent free upon application.

Advertisements specifically relating to *The Innocents Abroad* appear opposite.²¹

²⁰ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1874.

²¹ *Connecticut [Hartford] Courant*, July 31, 1869.

BOOK AGENTS WANTED

TO SELL

Mark Twain's New Book

Who has not heard of him? Who has not laughed over his quaint sayings and queer ideas? Who has not fairly succumbed to his racy anecdotes and melted under his pathetic stories? Who has not thrilled with his fine descriptions, acknowledged the keenness of his satire and admired the frank and daring openness of his word?

THE INNOCENTS ABROAD, OR THE NEW PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,

is the quintessence of himself, the condensation and concentration of all his powers. No stolidity can withstand its gentility and humor. No prejudices destroy the effect of his truthful delineations of the follies of life and society.

It is the most readable, enjoyable, laughable, yet valuable book printed for years. It will be the most popular.

20,000 volumes printed in advance and now ready for distribution by Agents on whom liberal terms, and free territory will be given. Apply to

American Publishing Co.

HARTFORD, CONN.

1378

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**\$100 in Gold paid to an Agent with
Commissions!**

MARK TWAIN'S NEW BOOK.

"The Innocents Abroad,"

With all its humor, and all its richness, is ready for agents. The whole press of the country is praising it, and every person who has read it is known by his cheerful looks. One agent at Rochester took 74 orders in one day. We have reports like this constantly. We pay the largest commission and extra premiums as above. Send to us for our explanatory circulars, and sample which is sent free, and judge for yourself. AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO., Hartford, Conn.

Working on a commission basis, agents were well paid. One writer stated that of the \$350,000 gross received from *Beyond the Mississippi*, the agents received \$100,000, or a little over twenty-eight per cent.²² Thus on a \$3.50 book the agent would make a dollar, and might make \$100 a month, the minimum figure mentioned by the writer in the *New York Tribune*.²³ But it is hard (despite the agent who in Rochester took seventy-four orders for *The Innocents Abroad* in one day)²⁴ to see how he could achieve the maximum mentioned by that writer — \$10,000 a year. It is true, however, that subscription agents were enterprising. Apparently they were at once the envy and the scorn of the regular trade. Urged by *Publishers' Weekly*²⁵ to show some of the book agent's enterprise, one dealer answered that he resented being urged to adopt "peddler techniques."²⁶

Spurred on by the hope of large gains, agents would travel about displaying a sample of their wares in the form of a rather elaborate dummy of the forthcoming book,²⁷ and taking orders. Later, retracing their steps, they would deliver the books and collect the money. Moving about in this way, the agents among them would pretty well canvass the market. "There is not a cross-road in any part of the country," said the *New York Tribune* writer,

²² *American Publisher and Book Seller*, III, 4 (No. 21, Jan., 1870).

²³ Oct. 28, 1874.

²⁴ Advertisement of the American Publishing Company in the *Connecticut [Hartford] Courant*, Nov. 13, 1869.

²⁵ III, 217 (No. 9, March 1, 1873).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 263-264 (No. 11, March 15, 1873).

²⁷ An agent's dummy of *The Innocents Abroad* which I saw in the Willard S. Morse Mark Twain Collection at the Yale University Library is made up of a sample of the book's contents, bound in the regular gilt-embossed covers of the first edition; the spine, being considerably thinner than on the book itself, is plain. Within the covers are included the following materials that appear in the first edition: all the preliminaries, all the full-page illustrations, samples of the text, a brochure advertising the work, and 16 blank pages on which to list orders. The samples of the text are these: pp. 19-20 (first two pages of chap. 1); pp. 33-48 (activities on ship-board, including seasickness); pp. 289-304 (fooling the guides and a description of the Capuchin convent); pp. 529-544 (serious description of the Holy Land, and the satirical passages on Grimes, i.e., William C. Prime, author of *Tent Life in the Holy Land* [New York, Harper & Co., 1857]). The selections thus display the variety of the book's contents.

"that is not at some time visited by the book-agent. . . . To the farthest districts of the Western country [he] penetrates, and is there far more than in the East a welcome guest."²⁸

How *The Innocents Abroad* would have sold if it had been handled by a standard publishing house it is impossible to say.²⁹ That it would have fared as well as it did is doubtful. The American Publishing Company was able to dispose of fifty to one hundred thousand copies of a relatively undistinguished book — not once or twice but consistently. Clearly to that company goes some of the credit for the prodigious sale of *The Innocents Abroad*.

Nor should one, in accounting for the book's great sale, overlook the extraordinary zeal and ingenuity displayed by publisher and author. Both singly and together Elisha Bliss and Clemens did much to make the book a success. From the start Bliss took special pains to get out an attractive volume. He spent more money on *The Innocents Abroad*, probably, than on any other book the house had published.³⁰ Apparently he thought the money

²⁸ Even in 1870 book agents were a nuisance. Carl Byng (which may have been a pseudonym of Clemens'), writing for the *Buffalo Express* (Jan. 7, 1871), satirizes them in a piece entitled "That Book Agent." Clemens himself, in his "Memoranda" column in the *Galaxy*, prints what purports to be a letter from one of his correspondents in Hazel Green, Wis.: "Do not, in your MEMORANDA, forget the travelling book agents. They are about as tolerable as lightning-rod men, especially the 'red-nosed chaps' who sell 'juveniles,' temperance tracts, and such like delectable fodder." Clemens' reply was this: "None but those canvassers who sell compact concentrations of solid wisdom, like the work entitled 'The Innocents Abroad,' can readily be said to be indispensable to the nation" (X, 734 [Nov., 1870]).

²⁹ Some idea is suggested by the fate of a somewhat comparable book, also issued in 1869. *The Dodge Club or, Italy in 1859* by James DeMille, a prolific minor novelist, was published by Harpers. The book is bracketed with Clemens' book in the annual summary of publishing events that appears in the *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (IX, 391 [1869]); after the title, "The Dodge Club," is this comment: "A very humorous travesty of the Grand Tour, mingling racy wit with riotous fun and burlesque; 'The Innocents Abroad,' by Mark Twain, to the same purpose." DeMille's book includes a portrait of a blustering, provincial U. S. Senator and his misadventures in Rome. Humor of language and of situation, and satire against the American tourist — elements that appear in Clemens' book — DeMille included in *The Dodge Club*. (For a lengthy excerpt from the book, see E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* [Philadelphia, T. E. Zell, 1875], II, 934-937.) Yet this book remained obscure, partly, it would seem, because it did not enjoy the wide distribution provided by subscription houses.

³⁰ Letter, Elisha Bliss to S.L.C., dated Hartford, Feb. 10, 1869. (Mark Twain Papers.)

well spent; "we have never," he wrote Clemens, "had a book look better for us, & its author."³¹ A few months later, just before publication day, Bliss assured Clemens (who was irritated by what he thought was a deliberate delay in publication) that "we shall do all in our power to make a big thing out of this."³²

The company's chief promotional device consisted of distributing advertising leaflets and broadsides. One of these in particular helped to publicize the book. Addressed to newspaper editors, and containing five press notices of *The Innocents Abroad*, the 6 x 20 inch sheet reads in part as follows: "Knowing well that the pressure of business detail upon an Editor often renders it extremely inconvenient for him to devote the time necessary to the proper preparation of Book Reviews, we have copied portions of several notices of our new book from leading journals."³³ It is likely that this advertisement played a part, as did the distribution of free review copies, in stimulating the more than 1,200 newspaper notices referred to in Clemens' *Buffalo Express*.³⁴ Of course such wide publicity helped the agents; after the appearance of so

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, July 12, 1869. (Mark Twain Papers.)

³³ This broadside, dated Aug. 10, 1869, is in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library.

³⁴ Issue of Oct. 9, 1869. It may, too, have influenced the nature of the reviews which it stimulated. Not only did it quote from generally favorable reviews; the quoted passages were edited. Unfavorable comment was simply omitted. The following passage, the first of the five notices in the broadside, was taken from the *Connecticut* [Hartford] *Courant*, July 31, 1869. The words in capitals were omitted in the broadside. "That the odd genius who described the 'Jumping Frog,' should go to see and describe the art treasures of Europe and the ruins of Egypt and the Holy Land, has something in it very comical. OUT IN CALIFORNIA THEY DON'T CARE MUCH FOR TRADITION, AND THEY RESPECT A THING FOR WHAT IT IS, NOT FOR WHAT SOMEBODY HAS SAID IT IS. THEY PRIDE THEMSELVES ON BEING SHARP AND INCAPABLE OF BEING HUMBUGGED. . . . THEY ARE WANTING IN REVERENCE AND A GOOD MANY OTHER OF THE UNDOUBTED VIRTUES. Mark Twain is a true Californian, with the original, quaint AND NOT ALWAYS REFINED humor of the Pacific. . . . There is nothing in [the book] of that painfully unnatural sort of wit that is so wearisome. WITH A DISLIKE FOR A GOOD MANY THINGS IN IT THAT ARE NOT REFINED, AND WITH THE BEST INTENTION TO FROWN DOWN THE BOOK, *very few will be able to read it without laughing at least half the time.*" The italics in the final clause were added by the publisher.

many reviews, the canvassers must have found their way pretty well prepared for them.

Clemens, too, as his contract required,³⁵ actively promoted his book. During the winter of 1868-1869 he lectured extensively over the country, from New York state and Pennsylvania as far west as Iowa. His lecture, "The American Vandal Abroad," was almost universally popular. It dealt, moreover, with the subject to be treated in the forthcoming book, and hence provided the people with a foretaste of what was to come. But a foretaste was all Clemens gave them. When *The Innocents Abroad* made its appearance, a writer in a Toledo paper spoke of the relation between lecture and book in a way that no doubt came close to describing the lecturer's intention: "Much of the humor contained in the book is already familiar to those who have heard Mr. Clemens lecture, but the lecture did not tell the half."³⁶ Clemens thus neatly paved the way for the new book.

After the book appeared, Clemens continued to seek publicity. The *Buffalo Express*, of which he was part owner and editor, provided him with a medium for keeping his name and the name of his book before the public. In the *Express* he reprinted some of the notices that *The Innocents Abroad* was receiving in other papers, and such stories as the humorous one from the *Springfield Republican*, entitled "Mark Twain's wicked book: Deacon B. criticizes the 'New Pilgrim's Progress.'"³⁷ By May of 1870 Clemens was also writing his "Memoranda" column for the *Galaxy* magazine; and although for several months his department made no mention of his book, the mere appearance of his monthly column served to advertise the name Mark Twain. Bliss realized the column's publicity value; to Clemens he wrote: "Don't think your *Galaxy*

³⁵ "The said Clemens . . . to do all in his power to promote the sale of the work" (Contract between Clemens and the American Publishing Co., in the Mark Twain Papers).

³⁶ Review in the *Toledo Commercial*, reprinted in the *Buffalo Express*, Oct. 9, 1869.

³⁷ Reprinted in the *Buffalo Express*, June 18, 1870.

article hurt your reputation at all. It was good. *Capital capital*.”³⁸

Whether Clemens strengthened his reputation with his famous hoax review, however, is doubtful. Late in 1870 he used the columns of both the *Buffalo Express* and the *Galaxy* to publish a piece designed to advertise as well as to entertain.³⁹ Acting, Clemens wrote, at the suggestion of the *Boston Advertiser*, he printed what purported to be a review of *The Innocents Abroad* taken from the *Saturday Review* of London. Actually, the review was a hoax, written by Clemens himself.⁴⁰ His readers were taken in, some saying the humor was better than Mark Twain's own, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* chiding Clemens for failing to appreciate the subtle humor of the English review. His hand thus forced, Mark Twain had to admit authorship. This was a sorry enough ending for an intended joke. But it was worse when the *Enquirer*, insisting (wrongly) that the *Galaxy* review was no hoax but actually had been reprinted from the London magazine, led Clemens in the February *Galaxy* to brand their charge as a “pitiful, deliberate falsehood,” and pettishly to accuse the Cincinnati paper of being “edited by children.”⁴¹

As entertainment this sort of thing was pretty poor. A few months after the incident a writer for the *Literary World* spoke of Mark Twain as having “committed literary suicide,” and

³⁸ Letter of Elisha Bliss to S.L.C., dated Hartford, May 2, 1870. (Mark Twain Papers.) It is not clear which of the Clemens articles in the May *Galaxy* Bliss is referring to.

³⁹ This prolonged joke appeared in the *Buffalo Express*, Dec. 3 and Dec. 24, 1870, and in the *Galaxy*, X, 876-878 (Dec., 1870); XI, 158-159 (Jan., 1871); XI, 312-321 (Feb., 1871).

⁴⁰ A review of the book had, it is true, appeared in the London periodical, but at the time he wrote the hoax, Clemens had not seen it. The English reviewer deplored the vulgar traveling habits of Americans as revealed in the book. More notable, though, is the paragraph with which, after a column and a half of derogatory remarks, he concludes: “Perhaps we have persuaded our readers by this time that Mr. Twain is a very offensive specimen of the vulgarest kind of Yankee. And yet, to say the truth, we have a kind of liking for him. There is a frankness and originality about his remarks which is pleasanter than the mere repetition of stale raptures; and his fun, if not very refined, is often tolerable in its way. . . .” (*Saturday Review* [London], XXX, 467-468 [No. 780, Oct. 8, 1870]).

⁴¹ This episode is treated at some length in Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, a Biography* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1912), I, 428-430.

generalized that "whenever a professional humorist has undertaken to write under pressure — as to fill a certain space in a certain time — he has made a *fiasco*, and lost his standing."⁴² Even as advertisement it was not very effective. One reader was bored with the Twain-*Enquirer* controversy:

Mark Twain's "Memoranda" are more serious than usual this month, — the humorist having a private bone to pick with the Cincinnati *Enquirer* over his "Innocents Abroad," and a public bone with the Reverend Sabine. The former topic is getting to be a nuisance. The advertisement is too apparent.⁴³

The hoax as a literary device, Clemens discovered, had its limitations; occasionally it backfired.

In these ways, then, did Clemens and his publisher, working singly, seek to promote the book. Furthermore, during all of 1869 the two tried to coördinate their activities for greater effect. From Chicago, where he was lecturing in January, Clemens wrote to Frank Bliss, the publisher's son, suggesting that the company synchronize its advertising with his lecturing: "Why don't you issue prospectuses & startling advertisements now while I am stirring the bowels of these communities? I have big houses — & more invitations to lecture than I can fill."⁴⁴

Elisha Bliss, too, saw the value of timing. When Clemens was contemplating a lecture tour to the far west with Nasby,⁴⁵ Bliss planned to have copies of *The Innocents Abroad* in California ready to meet the demand created by the author's lectures. "We shall ship Books to *California*," he wrote Clemens on July 12, "on the steamer of 24th inst — Prospectus will go on 16th, so you see the Books will be there by *the time you are*."⁴⁶ Clemens did not go west, but instead swung around the New England lecture cir-

⁴² II, 47 (Aug. 1, 1871).

⁴³ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 23, 1871.

⁴⁴ Letter dated Chicago, Jan. 7, 1869. (Morse Mark Twain Collection.) Whether Bliss acted on the suggestion is uncertain, for most of the company's brochures are undated.

⁴⁵ Paine, *Biography*, I, 385-387.

⁴⁶ Letter dated Hartford, July 12, 1869. (Mark Twain Papers.)

cuit in the fall of 1869.⁴⁷ Still seeking to capitalize on the personality of the author, Bliss tried to follow his movements about New England, a task that was not always easy. "Where do you lecture first, & thence on [?]" he wrote Clemens early in November. "Can't you send us list of engagements so far made [?] We should like to know your whereabouts, as we think we can make use of the knowledge to our mutual benefit."⁴⁸

Perhaps the most ingenious coöperative effort of the pair was their scheme to exploit the fact that sales of *The Innocents Abroad* had reached a certain figure. Apparently the inspiration was Clemens'. "Whenever our sales reach 100,000,—no matter when that may be —," he wrote to Bliss on May 7, 1870,

you or the Directors call me to Hartford to an oyster supper in celebration of the event — the Hartford Editors to be present & I will either come there & make a speech that will travel well in the papers, or I will send one to be read there that will travel. If you can think of something simpler & just as effectual, let's have it — for suppers are some times a nuisance, & besides, the object of this one might be too glaringly apparent. Set your invention to work.⁴⁹

A little later he modified the plan; certain that he did not want to go to Hartford to speak, he made an alternative proposal:

Whenever you are ready for a "blow" on the 75th thousand, send me a brief note to *inquire* if I could attend a dinner to celebrate it — & I will answer No as affably & felicitously as possible, & thus we'll save the dinner & yet compass the advertisement.⁵⁰

A further refinement of the scheme kept the advertisement but did away with the oyster supper. Wrote Clemens:

About the dinner — I cannot go on to Hartford very well for the dinner and I have a plan which seems to me a good one. *Write* a dinner invitation to me and let me write a speech in answer and you publish it. That will answer the same purpose as if we had a dinner, and I should have to send the speech to the dinner any way instead of going myself. What do you think of that plan?⁵¹

⁴⁷ Paine, *Biography*, I, 389, 391.

⁴⁸ Letter dated Hartford, Nov. 1, 1869. (Mark Twain Papers.)

⁴⁹ Letter dated Elmira. (Mark Twain Papers.)

⁵⁰ Letter to Elisha Bliss, dated Elmira, [May] 18 [1870]. (Mark Twain Papers.)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Buffalo, May 30, 1870. (Mark Twain Papers.)

Bliss probably approved, but whether the plan materialized is uncertain. It is also unimportant; it is the inspiration that counts, and Clemens had it. The idea has a Barnum-like quality, and it may be that Clemens, who at the time was reading the *Life of P. T. Barnum, Written by Himself*,⁵² got his inspiration from the Great Showman. In any event, the scheme clearly reveals Mark Twain's enthusiastic efforts to sell his book.⁵³

How successful author and publisher were in their promotional campaign is seen in the sales figures. In August, 1869, the first full month after publication, more than 5,000 copies were sold;⁵⁴ by December the rate of sale had more than doubled, 12,000 copies being disposed of in twenty-seven days.⁵⁵ Clemens wrote to Mrs. Fairbanks that six presses were working on the book night and day and still could not keep up with the orders.⁵⁶ Thirty-one thousand copies had been sold by the end of the year.⁵⁷ Sixteen months after publication, that number had increased to 85,000,⁵⁸ and by July 24, 1871 — two years after pub-

⁵² Paine, *Biography*, I, 410.

⁵³ In his advertising Clemens made no use of personal endorsements of his book, though he might have done so. Oliver Wendell Holmes had said some not uncomplimentary things about the book in a letter thanking Clemens for a free copy, but he had asked that his remarks not be used. It was, he said politely, the publishers' indiscretions that he feared: "Don't let them get hold of this letter, for the rascals always print everything to puff their books — private or not — which is odious" (Letter of Holmes to S.L.C., dated Boston, Sept. 26, 1869. [Mark Twain Papers]).

⁵⁴ Paine, *Biography*, I, 382.

⁵⁵ Letter, dated Amenia, N. Y., Jan. 6 [1870], of Clemens to Mrs. A. W. Fairbanks, a "Quaker City" companion, and wife of the publisher of the *Cleveland Herald*. The letter is in the Huntington Library (HM14259), where the extensive Clemens-Fairbanks correspondence is located. Mr. Dixon Wecter, of the Huntington staff, is preparing the correspondence for publication.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Paine, *Biography*, I, 382.

⁵⁸ Letter, S.L.C. to F. S. Drake, dated Buffalo, Dec. 26 [1870?]. (Berg Collection in New York Public Library.) "I only expected the 'Innocents' to sell 3,000 copies but it astonished me by selling 85,000 copies *within 16 months*. . . . That is the only thing in my life that seems to me remarkable enough to merit public attention." Drake was a Boston bookseller and antiquarian who at this time was compiling a one-volume biographical dictionary and had asked Clemens to supply facts about himself. Drake seems to have taken Clemens at his word with respect to what was important in his life; for, aside from mentioning his birthplace and the fact that he

lication — to 100,000.⁵⁹ Subsequent sales, although at a slower rate, increased the figure to 125,000 at the end of three years;⁶⁰ and Bliss himself estimated that by October, 1874, the sales totaled 150,000.⁶¹ It enjoyed, without doubt, "the largest sale of a *four-dollar book* (price is \$3.50 to \$5 — \$4 about the average) ever achieved in America in so short a time."⁶² Clemens amply realized his aim of making money from the book.⁶³ His earnings for the first five years after publication must have been more than \$28,000.⁶⁴

Of course it would be wrong, in trying to account for the popularity of *The Innocents Abroad*, to overlook the appeal of the book itself. Clemens' jaunty treatment of the hallowed wonders of the Old World was highly entertaining to Americans in 1869. But a large share of the credit for making the book an outstanding popular success must go to the publisher and author who engineered such an effective sales campaign.

had been engaged in newspaper work in Nevada, San Francisco, and Buffalo, and had written "The Jumping Frog," the article speaks only of the wide sale of *The Innocents Abroad*.

⁵⁹ Francis S. Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography, Including Men of the Time* (Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., 1872). Some writers have stated that this figure was attained only after three years. (See Paine, *Biography*, I, 455; see also Arthur B. Maurice, *Best Sellers of Yesterday: Mark Twain's "The Innocents Abroad,"* in: *The Bookman* [New York], XXXI, 379 [June, 1910].) But Drake's figure is probably correct, however he arrived at it. Sales were averaging over 2500 a month during the winter of 1870-71. (Letter of E. Bliss to S.L.C., dated Hartford, Feb. 13, 1871. [Mark Twain Papers.]) If Clemens' figure of 85,000 by Nov. 24, 1870 was correct, and if (as usually happened) sales picked up in the summer, then 100,000 would easily have been reached by July 24, 1871.

⁶⁰ Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia*, II, 952.

⁶¹ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1874.

⁶² Letter of S.L.C. to F. S. Drake, dated Dec. 26 [1870?]. (Berg Collection.)

⁶³ "I wasn't going to touch a book," he had written his family on Jan. 24, 1868, "unless there was *money* in it, and a good deal of it" (Albert Bigelow Paine [ed.], *Mark Twain's Letters* [New York, Harper & Bros., 1917], I, 145).

⁶⁴ The book was issued in four bindings — cloth (\$3.50), cloth with gilt-edged pages (\$4.00), "Library style," with sprinkled edges (\$4.00), half calf or morocco (\$5.00), and "Full Turkey Morocco" (\$8.00). For a while the more expensive bindings sold as well as the cloth. (Letter, S.L.C. to Mrs. Fairbanks, dated Amenia, N. Y., Jan. 6 [1870], HM14259.) Later the sales were mostly of the cloth binding. Clemens' estimate of a \$4.00 average, therefore, is, over a five-year period, probably too high. Assuming an average price of \$3.75, the five per cent allowed Clemens in his contract would, over a five-year period, have amounted to something over \$28,000.

The Manuscript of Trollope's *The American Senator*

Collated with the First Edition

By ROBERT H. TAYLOR

ON a January evening in 1941, Gimbel's department store opened its doors to a curious crowd. An experiment was being tried: part of the W. R. Hearst collection was to be sold as though it were Gimbel's regular stock. The experiment, that first night, dazed the customers and salesgirls alike; never had so much heterogeneous stuff been assembled together — everything from scarabs to monasteries was offered for sale. There were panelled rooms, tapestries, armor, china, rugs, paintings, silver, stained glass, jewelry, sculpture, furniture — and, for me, the manuscript of Anthony Trollope's *The American Senator*.

It is bound, according to its catalogue description, "in full light green crushed French levant, back and sides decorated with conventional flowers and leaves, doublures of brown levant, borders similarly gold-tooled," and so on. But the heart of it, inside this fancy dress, is the eight-hundred-odd ink-stained pages that Trollope covered with his abominable handwriting.

I have collated it with the first edition (London, Chapman & Hall, 1877), and have checked the discrepancies with the serial publication in the magazine *Temple Bar* (May 1876-June 1877) and with the edition printed for the Trollope Society (New York, Random House, 1940). However, before we reach the actual collation, I would like to discuss some of Trollope's methods of work, as exemplified in the manuscript.

First of all, the orderly way he inscribed the numbers of the serial part, chapter, and page, on each inner margin leads one to think that anything so businesslike will surely be clear and precise. And the chapters themselves are of surprisingly equal length, rather reminiscent of little Miss Peecher's ability to write an essay on any subject, covering exactly two sides of a slate.

But these facts are deceptive. The script runs freely in level lines, but the job of reading it is difficult. Glad am I that it was never my task to set type for it! And once we begin to examine it, we see that, though the story was clear in Trollope's mind, many details were not. Whatever preparation he may have made, he was not sure, for example, of his characters' names until well along in the book. He may have worked from an advance layout, such as the one for *Sir Harry Hotspur* which Mr. Sadleir quotes in an appendix to his biography; in that, it may be recalled, "Harry Brandon" becomes "George Hotspur." But in *The American Senator* there are a great many more changes.

It is hard to believe that the stalwart young farmer Lawrence Twentyman could ever have been christened "Launcelot," but so he first appears to us; and Reginald Morton was originally "Thomas." Was this last name perhaps a shade too hearty for a bookish recluse?

Kate Masters was first known as "Molly" — presumably to rhyme with her sister Dolly. But as Trollope wished to describe her as "jolly" — well, enough was enough, and she became Kate, but not till fifty pages or so had been written.

Goarly was "Goarsly," and the extra "s" was not dropped until the close of Chapter VI in the first volume.

But as well as making these changes, Trollope occasionally refers to other characters by wrong names. Lady Augustus is twice mentioned as "Lady Arabella" (*Temple Bar* printed this error), and up to the end of the manuscript the name is frequently found

Lady Augustus"
as "Mrs. Trefeil. Sir George Penwether is, half the time, "Sir

John"; but only once did Trollope fail to correct this. John Morton was at first named Minister to "Buenos Ayres," but apparently that sounded too civilized, and Patagonia was substituted. On p. 173, l. 2, Vol. II of the first edition (p. 300, l. 8 of the Random House edition) Lady Ushant is called "Lady Morton" — and this error, which occurs in the manuscript, persists in all the printed versions I have seen.

There are a few other blunders, similar to this last in that they slipped past the author and all his editors, which I have not included in the collation, since they are found in every appearance of the story. In Vol. I, p. 124, l. 9 of the first edition (p. 81, l. 26 of R. H.), "mother" is a mistake for "grandmother," as is "son's" for "grandson's" on p. 135, l. 24 of the same volume (p. 88, l. 37 of R. H.). The spellings "Mikewa" and "Mickewa" for the state which the American senator represented are alternated on successive pages of the manuscript, and they are faithfully transcribed in the first edition (though R. H. sensibly uses throughout the form "Mickewa," which is more frequent in the manuscript).

The printers of the time accepted illegibility as incidental to their trade, and developed great skill at deciphering scrawls, but even so Trollope's penmanship made difficulties for them, and it is not wonderful that certain words should have been reproduced incorrectly. Consider the opening sentence of the chapter entitled *The Masters Family* in the first edition: "At six o'clock one November morning Mr. Masters was sitting at home with his family." . . . What Trollope wrote was: "At six o'clock one November evening Mr. Masters was sitting at tea with his family." . . . Again, at the beginning of the chapter called *Jemima*, we find a description of a hunting farmer "who always had a fox in the springs at the bottom of his big meadows." One might think that a British editor of the seventies in fox-hunting England would have been surprised at this aquatic animal, but the phrase persists in all editions. Trollope wrote: "in the spinnies."

He had rather a predilection for antiquated spelling: "satyre," "holyday," etc. In the collation I have omitted several variants because of their constant recurrence: "shew," "phaethon," "histerical," and "strichnine" are so spelled throughout the manuscript — "shew" quite frequently appears in *Temple Bar* — and I have also omitted the many occasions where the manuscript has Arabic figures, which are spelled out in print.

More interesting than this, however, are two characters who never saw print. One is Mr. Masters' son Gregory (named for his father), a boy of fourteen going to school in Norrington. He disappears from the manuscript almost as soon as he is mentioned, but we get at least one vivid glance at the other. Originally both Senator and Mrs. Gotobed came to England, but the Senator eventually proved sufficient by himself for Trollope's purpose. However, two traces of his wife remain in the published work: Arabella Trefoil, speaking of Washington, says "We used to meet him and Mrs. Gotobed everywhere"; and an odd sentence in the chapter *The Paragon's Party At Bragton* reads "Then the Senator followed the old lady into one carriage; Mr. Morton followed alone into the other" . . . The second "into" is certainly wrong, and the manuscript explains it thus: "Mr. Morton ~~handed the~~ followed alone ~~Senator's wife~~ into the other" . . .

And it is in that same chapter that she briefly comes to life. It is with great pleasure that I now introduce the lady for the first time:

"Mrs. Gotobed, though not antagonistic like her husband, was almost more American and did not amalgamate with the old clergyman at all. She had no respect for anything that was past, but a keen eye for present inconveniences. When she said that she preferred the Unitarians to the Church of England because they warmed their churches — she having attended a huge ~~Uni~~ chapel of that persuasion in London, — Mr. Cooper was altogether silenced."

Trollope crossed out this passage — though he must have done it regretfully — as well as other brief mentions of her, because he

could find nothing for the lady to do. She had to be transported from one scene to another as dead weight; the last time we hear of her is at the beginning of the chapter called *The Senator's Letter*. The portion in brackets of the following is crossed out in the manuscript: "[He left Mrs. Gotobed at her lodgings in town having succeeded in obtaining a promise from two or three good natured ladies that they would look after her. The Senator was never ashamed to ask for what he wanted, and,] Although he had by no means," etc.

There are various other phrases crossed out all through the work. Indeed, it is only fair to observe that Trollope made a good many corrections; he was sufficiently concerned, at any rate while writing the novel, to iron out rough places, whatever his sins of omission may have been in regard to proof-reading. Thus, that regrettable remark of the Senator to Mrs. Morton that everything was "fixed convenient" is at least a slight improvement over the original version: that everything was "fixed lovely." At the end of the chapter *Mounser Green*, a final sentence was deleted: "There were those who said that the Senator was almost as bad to the Paragon, and quite as difficult to be shaken off, as Arabella Trefoil."

And from the end of the chapter *Chowton Farm For Sale*, the following passage has been omitted: "He had offered to marry the girl and had been at first accepted. Now he hardly knew whether he loved her or no, and was in greater doubt still as to her love for him. And he did not even know whether he was engaged to her. There were moments when he declared to himself that he was not, — and then he regretted the estrangement. There were other moments in which he regarded the engagement as valid, — and then he would look about him for a mode of escape. At the present moment the soft piteousness of Larry Twentyman's true love made him almost feel that he himself was equally devoted. But he was not sure of himself. And then how could he be in any degree sure of her."

In the chapter *The Success Of Lady Augustus* the "idea, a low-minded idea" which occurs simultaneously to Lord Rufford and Lady Augustus was first "a horrible idea." And again, in the chapter *The Senator's Lecture*. — No. 1, after the sentence "This was received very well," the following passage has been scored through: "You may tell any man that he is always wrong all round; but if you accuse him of a fib, or being greedy, or say that he eats peas with a knife, he will never forgive you."

There are certain puzzling phrases in the manuscript which have been exactly copied in all the editions I have seen. After Arabella has witnessed Major Canebach's fatal accident, and later hears that he will never ride again, she cries, "I shall never recover that." Should it not be "from that"? Then too, in her pursuit of Lord Rufford, Arabella writes a "serious missile" to follow her playful notes. The word is used three times on one page to describe the letter she concocts — surely "missive" would be more accurate.

But the contemporary editors had so much to do in the way of punctuation, consistent use of capital letters, watching out for misspelled or omitted words and occasional slips in grammar (it is startling in the manuscript to find the niece of the Duke of Mayfair saying, "Leave me go, Lord Rufford"!), that one cannot be surprised at trifling oversights.

Bentley, the editor of *Temple Bar*, had the earliest responsibility in this matter. The first thing he did was to salt and pepper it with punctuation, much as Lord Timothy Dexter suggested for his own book. Trollope's punctuation was sketchy, and I would estimate that the *Temple Bar* version contained about forty-five hundred additional commas, and other marks in proportion. Indeed, at times this became somewhat excessive, as in the following passage: "I'm better off out of the way altogether," she said at last, jumping up and walking towards the door as though she were going to leave the room, — "and the house, for ever."

I have enumerated so many defects that I am going to inter-

rupt the list for a moment in order to remind the reader of the circumstances under which it was written, though to be sure those circumstances were not unusual for Trollope. England and English country life fill this novel as completely as they do any of his others; there is no hesitation in the story's progress; the hunting scenes are as vivid as though he had set them down at the end of a day's hard run; yet he began writing the book in Australia and finished it at sea on the homeward journey. So great was his concentration that in spite of the discomforts and distractions of travel, the only indication in the manuscript that he was not in England when he wrote it occurs at the end of the chapter *Lady Ushant At Bragton*. There, slightly out of place, is a pencilled notation:

End of vol II

written at Greenoaks

Sydney

Trollope seems never more English than when he writes of Americans, and the nationality of his characters is emphasized when contrasted with the title figure:

"Good night, Mr. Gotobed," said his Lordship. "I cannot tell you how much I respect both your purpose and your courage; — but I don't know how far it is wise for a man to tell any other man, much less a nation, of all his faults."

"You English tell us of ours pretty often," said the Senator.

But I am wandering from the purpose of this article, which is, after all, to indicate the number and type of discrepancies between the manuscript and the first edition. So far as I am aware, there has been hitherto no such collation of any Trollope manuscript, though much has been said of his lack of interest in proof-reading, and the consequent errors in his published works. This is, then, an effort to determine how many editorial changes were made, and how many printers' errors have been perpetuated.

Trollope's haste in composition caused him to make a great number of the kind of mistakes which every writer produces more

or less frequently, and this type forms a large proportion of the collation that follows. It may be thought unnecessary to resurrect such long-forgotten blunders, but I have ventured to include them, as well as his abbreviations, in order to show how much editorial work was expended.

Professor Bradford A. Booth has been so good as to show me two letters from Trollope to Bentley indicating that proofreading was done. The first is dated February 25, 1876, and says: "*Could you not let your printer begin to print my novel. And would you kindly instruct him to send me the sheets.*"

Would you also instruct him to let me have the M. S. with the sheets."

With his habit of hurrying printers, he wrote again on June 19, 1876: "*At present the October number of the American Senator has been printed and corrected; but nothing further. Would it not be as well to get on for another month or two before I go.*"

We have indisputable evidence, then, that Trollope did work on the magazine proofs. But it is unlikely that he took any part in revising the Chapman and Hall edition. I know of only one set of corrected sheets for a Trollope book, those of *Cousin Henry* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1879), and there the alterations are not in his hand. Moreover, had he done such work on *The American Senator* for a second time, he would surely have noticed some of those errors which make their first appearance in print.

For in spite of the emendations and improvements, there are many actual misreadings in the *Temple Bar* printing, and these were carried over in great measure to the first edition. This leads me to believe that the book must have been set up from the magazine issue; certainly that would have been easier than to cope afresh with Trollope's angular script. And the changes made by Chapman and Hall are for the most part those which might have been made by any competent reader without reference to the manuscript. I am quite certain that, until now, it has not been scrutinized since Trollope corrected Bentley's proof.

And what is the value of this? Well, aside from the interest provided by the study of a well-loved author's work in its earliest form, there has been talk recently of a complete — or fairly complete — edition of Trollope. Professor Tinker, in the third number of *The Trollopian* (Berkeley, University of California Press, September, 1946), discusses this briefly and remarks that he once mentioned to the late A. E. Newton the advisability of collating different editions in order to obtain a correct text. I suggest that the following comparison will show that the extant manuscripts ought to be consulted as well.

I give page references to the first and Random House editions; and, where not otherwise indicated, the readings in *Temple Bar* and in the Random House printing agree with the first edition.

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H. p. and l. p. and l.		FIRST EDITION
	<i>Vol. I</i>		
no connection whatever with iron	(1), 16-7	3, 13	no connection with iron
and holiday travellers	2, 3-4	3, 16	and holiday travellers
is antient and	2, 13	3, 23-4	is ancient and
a stout hill (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	2, 25	4, 1	a steep hill
whereas Ufford is	3, 10	4, 13	whereas Rufford is
were passed there	5, 11-2	5, 22	were acted there
it been originally	6, 14-5	6, 9	it had been originally
and wallnuts are	6, 26	6, 17-8	and walnuts are
is Lord			
was now the Earl of Rufford	7, 10	6, 28	is Lord Rufford
as they now like	9, 11	7, 36	as they now like
Lawrence Twentyman,	9, 18	8, 3	Lawrence Twentyman,
Esq.,			Esquire,
called young Hampton of Hampton Wick Hampton (<i>T. B.</i> has: called young Hampton of Hampton "Dick Hampton")	10, 11-2	8, 21-2	called young Hampton of Hampton Wick "Hampton"
Billbrook and Botsey;	10, 15	8, 24-5	Billbrook & Botsey;
half a century	(13), 12	10, 9	half a century
the Honble. Mrs. Morton	16, 9	11, 38	the Honourable Mrs. Morton

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
employed by his country for many years in India and elsewhere (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	16, 21-2	12, 9-10	employed by his country in India and elsewhere
laden alas with	17, 4	12, 18	laden also with
in the Bragton Church- yard	17, 7	12, 21	in Bragton Churchyard
clearly that he could not enter	18, 11-2	13, 9-10	clearly that it would be better that he should not enter
made additions, and	21, 27	15, 14-5	made alterations, and
and then, crossing the stream by a foot bridge	23, 2-3	16, 3-4	and then crossing the stream by a foot-bridge,
leads across			and leading across
November evening (so in R. H.)	(24), 1	17, 1	November morning
at tea with	(24), 2	17, 2	at home with
was generally called	(24), 5	17, 4	was formally called
Fiddlestick!	26, 9	18, 14	Fiddlesticks!
the children's mouth	27, 26	19, 16	the children's mouths
a deprecating manner	28, 22-3	19, 37	a deprecatory manner
to stifle the discussion	29, 2	20, 7	to stop the discussion
The attorney shrank	31, 30	21, 35	The attorney shrank
Mr. Twentyman	34, 12	23, 17	Mr. Twentyman
Morton had been almost absolutely friendless (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	45, 6	30, 20	Morton had been friend- less
The Bush Inn belonged to Mr. Morton (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	45, 13-4	30, 26-7	The Bush Inn belonged to Reginald Morton
I almost believed you you would throw me in (the last five words were ad- ded later, and the repeti- tion was evidently not noticed)	51, 27-8	34, 31	I almost believed that you would throw me in
as a girl (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	54, 6	36, 8	as a child
lies at the back of Larry's land	61, 23-4	41, 5-6	lies at the back of Larry Twentyman's land
and all about the daugh- ter of	63, 14-5	42, 6-7	and had so demeaned him- self in reference to the daughter of
It isn't likely	64, 9	42, 26	It is not likely
and that fear	72, 12-3	48, 4	and then that fear
tho' no positive	75, 1-2	50, 16-7	though no positive

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
Lady Arabella had spoken (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	77, 20	52, 9-10	Lady Augustus had spoken
Lady Arabella had only hoped (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	78, 3	52, 19-20	Lady Augustus had only hoped
to bestow a penny.	79, 10	53, 10	to spend a penny in charity.
Mr. Morton handed the followed alone	80, 23	54, 4-5	Mr. Morton followed a- lone into the other
Senator's wife into the other			
When Mrs. Hopkins had taken the two ladies up to their rooms (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	80, 25-6	54, 7	When Mrs. Hopkins had taken the old lady up to her room
however much opposed it may be in my opinion either to utility or ration- al recreation	83, 8-9	55, 24-6	however much opposed it may be to my opinion ei- ther of utility or rational recreation
Not in manuscript	83, 27	56, 1-2	suggested the lady
said the old lady	84, 1	56, 5	said Mrs. Morton
When I remember all that farmer or his wife	86, 1	57, 16-7	I remember so well all that
on his brown pony	87, 24	58, 25	farmer nor his wife
passed direct by (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	88, 26-7	59, 11	on her brown pony
	94, 25-6	63, 2	passed close by
next to which were	95, 9	63, 13	next to which was
in the country	99, 18	65, 25	in the country
side of a hill	105, 6-7	69, 3	side of an opposite hill
It is worth . . . such a re- sult!	108, 2-4	70, 31-2	Is it worth . . . such a re- sult?
who had been on the box	110, 9	72, 23	who had been in the car- riage
his friends horses	110, 17	72, 29	a friend's horses
to accomplish at once	111, 2	73, 10	to combine
going to balk	111, 18	73, 22	going to bathe
bucked	111, 19	73, 23	leaped
every stick in the hedge	112, 26	74, 12-3	every foot in the hedge
intersecting the fence	112, 28	74, 14	intersecting of the fence
a generous	113, 17	74, 29	a gracious smile
smile			
which was here	114, 15	75, 11	which ran here
manipulations	116, 2	76, 11	manoeuvres
rectory	(120), 8	79, 6	vicarage
In all these	122, 26	80, 30	To all these
exigent	127, 16	83, 24	urgent
Can I do not anything	128, 12-3	84, 5-6	Can I do anything

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
might take some steps for throwing herself	(131), 4-5	86, 3-4	might make some attempt to throw herself
who in his mind was pre- paring his lecture (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	(131), 11	86, 9	who was preparing his lec- ture in his mind
You would stay	133, 15	87, 21	You could stay
These kind of things (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	136, 7	89, 8	Thiss kind of things (<i>R.</i> <i>H.</i> has: This kind of things)
of the same year	138, 15	90, 25	of the same par
altho'	140, 7	91, 25	although
perhaps my friend's — ah, — ah, — yes	160, 4-5	104, 19	perhaps my friends; — ah, — ah, — yes (<i>R. H.</i> has: perhaps my friend's; — ah — ah, — yes
from others about who	(162), 15	106, 12	from others who
tho'	163, 20	107, 1	though
in all his life	165, 17	108, 8-9	in all his born days
any mortal thing	170, 9-10	111, 4	any mortal thing
me	170, 23	111, 15	un
Every mortal one	170, 30	111, 20	Every mortal one
feel well inclined	175, 19	113, 30	feel inclined
forty	183, 28	119, 8	fifty
Cocking	189, 1	122, 19	Cocking
would be altogether unfit	206, 9	133, 17	would be unfit
Not in manuscript	209, 13	135, 18	as she did with gloves
but here, in the country, in England (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	210, 7	135, 36	but here, at home, in the country
saw him at (<i>T. B.</i> has: saw him on)	212, 9	137, 6	saw Morton on
I've still trouble	215, 2	138, 34-5	I still see trouble
she had declared to her- self that she would be Lady Rufford before the tardy wheels which brought the Senator and Mr. Morton had stopped at the door (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	220, 17-20	142, 29-31	before the tardy wheels which brought the Sena- tor and Mr. Morton had stopped at the door she had declared to herself that she would be Lady Rui- ford
that might be only tomor- row	223, 5-6	144, 14	that dying day might be tomorrow
her part (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	224, 27	145, 15	her own part
girl to whom he, Morton, was engaged	226, 3-4	146, 4-5	girl whom he, Morton, intended to marry
in the spinnies	228, 9	147, 23	in the springs
bucked	231, 5	149, 21	backed

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
Shugboro	232, 2	150, 3	Shugborough
Shugboro	232, 10	150, 9-10	Shugborough
looked cross at	232, 16	150, 15	looked up at
Shugborough is a little place	233, 7-8	150, 33	Shugborough is a small place
the horse's foot	236, 27	153, 7	the horse's feet
it could not fail	239, 14	154, 26-7	it would not fail
than from an illness	241, 30	156, 17	than if from an illness
won't have us again	262, 24-5	169, 20	won't have me again
his American friends	265, 1	170, 35	his American friend
greeting	272, 27	175, 30	fretting
On the whole of that	276, 28	178, 11	Through all that
that she could not bring herself to accept him in two months' time whatever she might be able to do	280, 3-5	180, 8-9	that she would not be able to accept him in two months's time whatever she she might bring herself to do
seemed to her be so superior	284, 14	182, 19	seemed to her to be so superior

Vol. II

Slade's birth at	(1), 3	191, 3	Slade's berth at
St. James Park	(1), 12	191, 9	St. James's Park
the fashionable young men (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	(1), 15	191, 11	the fashionable men
better off second (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	3, 27	192, 26-7	better off as second
diplomat	6, 7	194, 5	diplomate
satyre	7, 30	195, 9	satire
quite true that	8, 2	195, 11	quite clear that
Altho' he	(10), 3	196, 2	Although he
no doubt very bad (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	14, 1	198, 20	no doubt bad
very keen (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	15, 10	199, 12	much interested
when he can friends	16, 1-2	199, 29	when he can get friends
something from them (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	17, 13	200, 22-3	something even from Englishmen
they know up the street (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	19, 11	201, 32-3	they know up street
our nearest neighbor	24, 2	204, 33	our near neighbor
to expect another	24, 22	205, 10	to love another
against even	34, 4	210, 19	even against
Should she fail at last she must	39, 25-6	214, 12	Should she fail she must
Three or four of the horses	40, 24	214, 34-5	Three or four of the hounds

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
When Mary got forgotten Larry Twenty- man and his love, (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	(56), 1 59, 19-20	225, 1 227, 8	When Mary Masters got forgotten Larry Twenty- man,
He could quite forgive poured over the reports had been very happy to get any respectable diplomat to	77, 19 78, 22 78, 26-7	238, 30-1 239, 26 239, 29	He could forgive pored over the reports had been glad to get any respectable diplomate to
the owners of Bragton billicock hat (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	80, 13 80, 27	240, 27 240, 38	the owner of Bragton billycock hat
surrender his home very pleasant	85, 4 90, 8	243, 25 246, 24	surrender his house very agreeable
would almost amount to praise	93, 26	248, 32	almost amounted to praise
but ladies are supposed (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	(105), 13-4	256, 11	but women are supposed
Leave me go, Lord Ruf- ford	111, 16	260, 7	Leave me alone, Lord Rufford
you are so severe, aunt, that (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	114, 7	261, 32	you are so severe, that
some lies she had been forced to tell by the emer- gencies of her position.	116, 12-3	263, 4-5	some lies she must have told; — such had been the emergencies of her posi- tion!
leading on Lord Rufford's she would not waist	118, 29-30 124, 28	265, 8-9 268, 33	leaning on Lord Rufford's she would not waste
Not in manuscript	134, 30	275, 27-8	This is what men say to themselves, but
It was again nearly ten o'clock (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	137, 1	276, 36	It was nearly ten o'clock
I did think	142, 24	281, 4	I should think
as I do, I can't stay to be good	145, 4-5 146, 19	282, 21-2 283, 19-20	as I do now I can't stay to be kind-hearted
your rational comfort	156, 18-9	290, 9-10	your national comfort
Queen's Councillor	159, 25-6	292, 10-1	Queen's Counsellor
And this was what you call	161, 1-2	292, 38	And this is what you call
Not in manuscript	195, 7-8	314, 4	But it is Miss Trefoil.
Then Sir John read	196, 24	315, 3	Then Sir George read
that one always fancies	199, 26	317, 5	that one fancies
no attempt at effect (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	200, 5	317, 13	no attempt at affect
as she slunk	206, 13	321, 10	as she shrunk
You don't suspect	215, 30	327, 22	You don't expect
so deep a die	226, 13	334, 7	so deep a dye

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
There was a good deal of wine drank	227, 1	334, 23	There was a good deal of wine drank
the whole tenour (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	228, 19	335, 22-3	the whole tenor
and had not been	234, 1-2	339, 3	nor had there been
seek a councillor (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	235, 26	340, 7	seek a counsellor
Lady Augustus			
Mrs. Trefoil	235, 27	340, 8	Lady Augustus
were not very sorry (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	237, 25	341, 17	were not sorry
but as that line	(240), 10	343, 8	but when that line
move even his Grace.	241, 8	343, 22	move even his heart.
came at once to town	244, 17	345, 32-3	came at once to you
trust it to my uncle (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	246, 13	346, 39	trust to my uncle
into passion (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	247, 18	347, 27-8	into a passion
Lady Augustus			
Mrs. Trefoil	248, 28	348, 21	Lady Augustus
since you left Mistletoe?	249, 25	349, 7-8	since you left?
Not in manuscript	255, 30	353, 1-2	in opposition to the noble- man's nominee
in the great city of London	264, 13-5	358, 9-11	in the great city of London something like 25,000 registered electors only send
constituents only send			
tried to teach himself that	270, 29-30	363, 3	tried to trust that
she lent upon the rail	275, 22	366, 2-3	she leant upon the rail
over the spots which	276, 2	366, 10-1	over the sites which
had authority <i>ever</i> (?)	282, 1-2	369, 39	had authority once
<i>over?</i> This is the only word in the manuscript which is underlined.)			
on his bed	284, 12	371, 25-6	in his bed
her failures	286, 6	372, 36	her failure
quite hard-hearted	286, 24-5	373, 12	quite so hard-hearted

Vol. III

which was lying (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	6, 8	384, 5-6	which was laying
to be gained there.	7, 27	385, 6	to be gained.
5 minutes	15, 7	389, 38	two minutes
had she looked out of the window	29, 28-9	399, 22-3	had the old woman looked out of the fly window

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
that young enemy of 40 years standing (<i>T. B.</i> has: that young enemy of forty years standing)	30, 20-1	400, 1	that enemy of forty years' standing
on her journey	31, 21	400, 25	on the journey
and all the increased	31, 24	400, 27	and by the increased
It is thus	39, 25	405, 14	It is in that way
such injustice	40, 29	405, 39	such an injustice
I do not want	47, 9	409, 36	I am sure you do not want
seemed to her now more common	52, 10-1	413, 24-5	seemed to her more common
I cannot tell it	55, 8	415, 15	I cannot tell mine
a favorite at	(59), 2	418, 2	a favourite at
Lord Augustus saw his brother	60, 23	419, 2-3	Lord Augustus saw her mother
trousers pockets	62, 13	420, 1	trousers pockets
to him. I don't	62, 28	420, 12-3	to him. And I don't
Not in manuscript	65, 3	421, 26	said the Duke
their little dirty ways (<i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i> have: these little dirty ways)	84, 6	433, 3-4	their dirty ways
in its beliefs	(103), 4	445, 3-4	in its belief
a discrete man	104, 9	445, 23	a discreet man
an awful shame (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	109, 26	449, 10	a hawful shame
If Dick's father	117, 30	454, 20	If Dick's sister
should you of all men go to	120, 30	456, 14	should you go to
first written a sum of money on the fragment of paper which she had preserved (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	124, 14-6	458, 27-9	first written on the fragment of paper which she had preserved. some figures representing a sum of money
to save his £8000	124, 28	459, 9	to have his £8000
at any town (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	128, 22	461, 18	at some town
heartless Nero (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	139, 19	468, 22	heartless Juan
struck his spud	140, 28	469, 12-3	struck his shovel
it was to be always so (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	142, 4	470, 3	it would always be so
some who thought (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	147, 13	473, 26-7	some who hoped
Will she back	149, 23	475, 11	Will she be back

MANUSCRIPT	FIRST ED. RANDOM H.		FIRST EDITION
	p. and l.	p. and l.	
fox took that way (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	154, 29	478, 17-8	fox shewed a line that way
than 40/of	162, 18	483, 15	than four shillings of
have ever shewn a very strong	167, 28-9	487, 8	have shown any very strong
before five years are over (so in <i>T. B.</i> and <i>R. H.</i>)	181, 25	495, 22	before two years are over
has been poking about	183, 17	496, 27	has been looking about
I am so glad that you (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	183, 30	496, 38	I am so glad you
It was the first	185, 1	497, 25-6	It was almost the first
made fluttering but vain	185, 9	497, 32	made flattering but vain
or that her fortune was more lovely, because	185, 22-3	498, 3-4	or that her condition was the happier, because
"The squire!" ejaculated her father.	187, 17	499, 7	"The squire!"
you must say that I will but had drank (so in <i>T. B.</i>)	187, 20 190, 20	499, 10 502, 2	you must say I will but had drunk
there arrived Harry	204, 25	511, 2	there arrived Henry
a long rush of horsemen,	208, 16-7	513, 8-9	a long string of horsemen,
all moving quickly up to the Purefoy estate which	215, 5	517, 38	all moving up to the Purefoy property which
she — was not a lady	217, 11-2	519, 12	she — is not a lady
there be which of which I have	253, 10-1	542, 15	there be of which I have
it will impossible to bring her too.	259, 15-6 (265), 11	546, 13 550, 8	it will be impossible to bring her to.
the likes of Lady Ushant	268, 2	551, 32	the like of Lady Ushant
He's quite different	269, 25-6	552, 35	It is quite different
care has almost made	280, 14	559, 6	care almost made
with increased respect	280, 24	559, 14	with increased spirit
Bicycle and the other nag	282, 26	560, 24-5	"Bicycle" and the other mare
if there were no bird	283, 29	561, 12-3	if there had been no bird

Bibliographical Notes

Correction at Press in "The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green"

It has been known for some time that the quarto of Chettle and Day's *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green*¹ underwent correction during impression. In 1902 Bang listed eight variants² between the Quaritch copy, which served him for copy-text [Q1a], and a copy in the British Museum [Q1b], which he knew only through a transcript by Miss M. E. Thompson. Recently collating a number of copies³ of this quarto, I failed to find any other occurrences of some of Bang's corrected readings. The matter is of some importance since several of these readings constitute the sole evidence that certain forms of *The Blind-Beggar* were corrected during impression. Three suspect variants follow:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
D ₁ ^r , 41 ⁴	the	thee
D ₂ ^r , 25	own	old
D ₄ ^r , 22	they they have	they have

The first and third of these variants represent, it is true, improvements on the readings of the uncorrected state. The second, however, represents deterioration. The lines

Thou durst not thus in scorn to old *Strowd* prate,
But cock on thine own hill, thus near thy Gate.⁵

¹ London, 1659. This is the only early edition. It was reprinted by A. H. Bullen in *The Works of John Day* (London, 1881), by W. Bang in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, I (Louvain, 1902), and reproduced in John S. Farmer's *Tudor Facsimile Texts* (Amersham, 1914).

² *Op. cit.*, p. ix.

³ Those in the library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University, the Folger Shakespeare library and the library of the University of Texas; by microfilm or photostat, those in the Henry Huntington and Newberry libraries; and by Farmer's facsimile, British Museum 644. d. 77. Farmer supplies the text of several leaves missing in this copy, from British Museum 161. i. 3.

⁴ Line numbers include the running-titles.

⁵ D₂^r, 24-5.

are not bettered by the alteration of "own" to "old," as Bang would seem to agree.⁶ Nevertheless he clearly states:

Die Quarto des Herrn Quaritch ist ein Abzug des ursprünglichen Satzes; in dem Exemplar des Brit. Mus. sind, wie dies öfter geschah, eine Anzahl von Verbesserungen angebracht worden, sodass es chronologisch jünger ist, als das Quaritch'sche Exemplar.⁷

Bang's eight evidences of correction, therefore, are offered as readings of a British Museum copy.

None of the three readings of the corrected state listed above, however, appears either in British Museum 644. d. 77. or British Museum 161. i. 3,⁸ or in any other copy of the quarto known to me. Since Bang would have had insufficient motive for inventing these nonce "corrections," it seems probable that they are errors inadvertently introduced by Miss Thompson in her transcript.⁹ Since these variants seem not to exist, and since they are Bang's only evidence for correction in these forms, we may conclude that the outer and inner forms of Signature D were not corrected during impression.

My collation led me likewise to suspect a fourth of Bang's eight evidences of correction.

Line	Uncorrected state	Corrected state
K1 ^r , 3 ⁶	gugle eyes	gingle boys

Bang prints "gugle eyes" as the reading of his copy-text. That such a reading appears in one or more existing copies of the quarto but not in one of the seven copies considered here is possible but not very probable. Though after search through the usual channels I have been unable to locate the Quaritch copy, I am inclined to suspect that Bang may have been in error¹⁰ regard-

⁶ Though in his introduction Bang lists "old" among the corrections, he follows it with "!" and in his note (712) comments, "Ich bezweifle, dass *old* der Qlb eine 'Verbesserung' ist."

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. ix. It is not correct to say that "es [the British Museum copy] chronologisch jünger ist." Printing forms, not usually copies of the same edition of a quarto, may be said to be younger or older than the forms appearing in other copies; see R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927), p. 209. In Inner H, as I point out below, both British Museum copies exhibit an older state than that represented in the Quaritch copy as reported by Bang.

⁸ I am indebted to Mr. F. C. Francis for checking these and other readings of the British Museum copies for me.

⁹ The "old" of the second variant she may have picked up from "old *Strowd*" of the preceding line.

¹⁰ Bang's text of *The Blind-Beggar* contains sixty-two readings not found in any copy of the quarto I have consulted; see "Notes on Bang's Edition of *The Blind-Beggar* of Bednal-Green," *English Studies*, XXVII (1946), 152-155.

ing this reading. I doubt that "gugle eyes" appeared in any copy of the quarto. If it did not, since the evidence for correction in this form is limited to this instance, the outer form of Signature K was not corrected.

Of Bang's eight evidences of correction, the other four are substantiated by my findings.

<i>Line</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
C ₁ ^v ,5	this	his
C ₂ ^r ,3	you to walk	you walk
,33	homesome	homespun
,37	bed	abed

All occur in the same form, Inner C, which undoubtedly was corrected during impression. To the evidence adduced by Bang, from my collation I can add two variants not noticed by him:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
C ₁ ^v ,34	thoughts	thoughts,
C ₂ ^r ,31	Gidle	Girdle

Though the former might possibly represent an accidental dropping out of the comma in the process of printing, the regular distribution of its original and corrected readings among copies exhibiting the readings of Bang's uncorrected and corrected states indicates that it may safely be taken as a true correction. Of the seven copies studied, three¹¹ represent the original state, four¹² the corrected.

Bang's eight instances of correction, then, are seen to boil down to four; and they establish that not four but only one printing form of *The Blind-Beggar* underwent correction during impression. Sufficient evidence is available, however, that two other forms of this quarto, Outer E and Inner H, were corrected, the former rather extensively. In Outer E I find the following thirteen hitherto unnoticed corrections:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
1 ^r ,25	wod	wo'd ¹³
2 ^v ,8	Where's. . .say,	(Where's. . .say,)
,10	bosome,	bosome!
4 ^v ,2	thus,	thus?
,5	rob'd,	rob'd?

¹¹ Huntington, Folger, and Newberry.

¹² Elizabethan Club, University of Texas, and both British Museum copies.

¹³ That this is not the accidental loss of the apostrophe is clearly indicated by the respacing. Cf. below, 4^v,27.

4 ^v ,9	<i>Swash</i> [turned <i>a</i>]	<i>Swash</i>
,14	<i>Swash</i> ,	<i>Swash</i> ?
,15	trou.	trou?
,20	<i>Swash</i>	<i>Swash</i> ?
	this.	this?
,27	wod	wo'd
,34	business,	busin ^{ess} ;
,37	of my	on my

Though the authority for these corrections is not known, they are all such as would be within the ability of a proofreader or printer. That most of them are in the direction of merely mechanical correctness does not lessen their value as evidence that the form was corrected. Of the seven copies studied, two¹⁴ represent the uncorrected state, five¹⁵ the corrected.

Though I find but two pieces of evidence in Inner H, they are of such a nature as to prove conclusively that this form, too, underwent correction at press.

<i>Line</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
4 ^r ,23	have	not
,24	not	have

The passage as corrected reads: ". . . one, who was not content to rob us in the Kings high way, but would likewise have taken away our lives." With the two words reversed, as in the original state, the speech is ungrammatical and does not make sense. Of the seven copies studied, five¹⁶ represent the uncorrected state, two¹⁷ the corrected.

According to Bang, the quarto of *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green* shows eight corrections, indicating that the inner form of Signature C, the outer and inner forms of Signature D, and the outer form of Signature K were corrected during impression. Evidence presented herein, however, suggests that the quarto of *The Blind-Beggar* shows twenty-one corrections, indicating that the inner form of Signature C, the outer form of Signature E, and the inner form of Signature H were corrected during impression. Bang's citation of four pairs of variants which are not found in

¹⁴ Huntington, Elizabethan Club.

¹⁵ Folger, Texas, Newberry, and both British Museum copies.

¹⁶ Huntington, Elizabethan Club, University of Texas, and both British Museum copies. Here we have an illustration of the sort of error which arises when one refers to a copy rather than a form as being the older or younger of two examples. Though in Inner C the British Museum copies represent the younger of two states, in Inner H they represent the older. See above, n. 7.

¹⁷ Folger, Newberry.

other copies of the quarto which have been studied and his failure to discover the additional seventeen instances of correction here reported, illustrate the dangers both of relying upon a transcript and of basing bibliographical conclusions upon an examination of too few copies.

WILLIAM PEERY

A Cruikshank Catalogue Raisonné

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO ALBERT M. COHN'S *George Cruikshank, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Work Executed during the Years 1806-1877* (London, Office of The Bookman's Journal, 1924).*

13. AINSWORTH (W. H.). Jack Sheppard. A Romance.

In my copy of this work, procured subsequently to the collation here given, "Part VII" is printed in Roman numerals, similar to the numeration on all the other parts. The collation in the Catalogue was taken from the Douglas copy, and this must surely have had a false wrapper to the part in question.

14. AINSWORTH (W. H.). The Tower of London.

Page 8 (under Part V), line 14, the third word from the end of the line should be "Monger." Not "Manger" as printed.

32. ANNALS OF SPORTING (THE), AND FANCY GAZETTE.

Page 16, line 24. June 1828, pp. 351 . . . Not 358.

64. BEDWORTH (TRIAL OF THOMAS).

The Meirs copy at Princeton is 2nd Edition. 20 pp. + 2 pp. advts.

73. BILLETS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1814-1817.

Line 5: pp. 3-228. Not 288.

82. BLUEBEARD; OR FATAL CURIOSITY.

Collation: 8 pp. printed on one side only, each with a colored plate. (Meirs copy.)

96. BROUGH (R. B.). The Life of Sir John Falstaff.

The collation of Parts VIII & IX differs in some copies; *viz.*, Part VIII pp. 141-156, Part IX pp. 157-160.

* Mr. Cohn enclosed these Notes in a letter to Mr. Holbrook, who has rewritten them for publication. — *Editor*.

97. BRUCE (CARLTON). Mirth and Morality.
Some copies were bound in glazed yellow paper boards, with morocco backs lettered in gilt.
110. CARICATURE MAGAZINE (THE), OR HUDIBRASTIC MIRROR.
For further information on this difficult item, apply to Mr. Dickson Q. Brown, 11 Broadway, N. Y. C.
119. CASTLE AND THE TOMB (THE), OF THE PATRIOT MONARCH: |
Or | A Visit to Windsor, on the occasion of the | Funeral Proces-
sion of George III. | With a Sketch of his Character, and an En-
graving by Cruikshank. A Poetical Narrative. | By a Clergyman
late of Oxford.
8vo. London: J. Hatchard and Son, 190 Piccadilly. 1820. Collation: Title
(blank on verso), pp. 3-66. Aquatint frontispiece:—"Funeral Procession
of George III." *Note.* The frontispiece is similar to the plate appearing in
The Loyalist, No. 519.
271. ELLIS (MRS.). My Brother, or the Man of Many Friends.
Line 4. Should be December 1854. Not 1864.
311. FAUSTUS. The Wonderful Life of Dr. Faustus.
Colored frontispiece (not folding) entitled "Dr. John Faustus delivering to
the Infernal Spirit His BOND. . ." Collation: Title + pp. (3)-24. Printed
paper wrappers.
382. HANS OF ICELAND.
Line 5. Delete plus sign(+) after "title."
384. *Insert.* HARVEY (FRANCIS). A General Catalogue | of | Rare and
A. Valuable | Engraved Portraits. On Sale by | Francis Harvey, Book
and Printseller | 4, St. James's Street | London, S.W. N.D. 8vo.
Vignette on title-page similar to Harvey's Trade Card, see No.
1185. On verso of title: "Only one hundred copies issued | Price
One Guinea.
This is a list of 4859 prints priced and described with short biographical
notes. Only one copy has come under my notice, and the book appears quite
unknown to all bibliographers. Collation:—Printed title—pp. (1)-704.
On verso of the last leaf: Dryden Press: | J. Davy and Sons, 137 Long Acre,
London, W.C.
386. HEATHERBREAD (WILLIAM). The Moor &c.....
Since the issue of the Catalogue, an India Proof of the plate "Descending
the Scar" has come into my possession, autographed: "By me, Geo. Crk."

435. IRELAND. Life of Napoleon. . . .

No half-titles to Vols. 1 & 2 are called for in Cumberland's reissue, 1828.

457. *Insert.* THE KALEIDOSCOPE. Sept. 2nd. & 9th., 1828.

A.

This periodical has hitherto been quite unknown to any of the collectors of the works of G. Ck. In twenty years of collecting, only one copy has come under my notice. It contains at pp. 73 and 83 the excessively rare woodcut to illustrate "Points of Horror." These appeared a few weeks earlier in *The Spectator*. See No. 766. (Published at) "Liverpool price 3½d. per No."

462. KERR (JOHN). Ancient Legends, &c. . .

No. 1 by G. C. & Robert Crk.

3 by G. Crk.

5 not by either G. C. or R. Ck.

6 by Rob't Crk.

7, 8 & 9 by Geo. Ck.

(This is just additional information.)

487. LIFE AND DEATH IN LONDON.

The imprint should be: London: G. Smeeton, 15 Arcade, Pall Mall. N.D.
Collation: Engraved frontispiece — Title (upon which is an etching which I do not think is the work of Geo. Crk.) pp. (1)-(xiv)-(15)-54.

506. LONDON JESTER (THE), OR MUSEUM OF MIRTH. . . .

Collation of Mason's Edition. Title — pp. 3-36. Brown printed paper wrappers.

687. REACH (ANGUS B.). Clement Lorimer. . .

Some copies have the following variants with regard to the outside back wrapper: —

Part III — "Albert Smith's New Work."

Part IV — "Albert Smith's New Work."

Part V — "New Works Just Ready."

771. SPITALSFIELD WEAVER (THE), OR TOM SHUTTLE. . .

"A dolorous ditty embellished with an Engraving. To which is added Phelim O'Gimblett and Margaret Timbertoe." Collation: Title — pp. (3)-24. *Note.* I have since found another copy.

802. TOWN TALK; OR, LIVING MANNERS.

Vol. III. In the first line, delete the word before "imprint," i.e. "One."

1088. END OF THE WORLD (THE).

A.

A Long and Marvelous Ballad. Hay & Turner, N.D. A long broadside.

1708. LYME REGIS, DORSET.

A Series of three etchings, colored. "From an Original Sketch by an Amateur" (Captain Marryat) Dated Sept. 8, 1819. Signed "Cruikshank fecit." These three etchings are entitled as follows:—

- (i) "Lyme Regis from the Terrace, looking S.W." Published 1819, by M. Hutchings, Lyme, Dorset.
- (ii) Lyme Regis, Dorset, from the Terrace, looking N.E. Published 1819, by M. Hutchings, Lyme, Dorset.
- (iii) "Hydromania! or a Touch of the Sub-Lyme and Beautiful! The Beach at Lyme Regis." Published 1819, by M. Hutchings, Lyme, Dorset. Until a collector at Lyme Regis sent me photostats of the complete set in his possession, it was thought that there existed but one etching, viz:—No. (ii), and this was the only one hitherto known, a copy of which was in the Douglas Collection, but this latter was uncolored.

1772. Found also with the title: "Little Boney Reviewing The Grand Army ! ! ! ! !"

JOHN PINCKNEY HOLBROOK

A West Baden Incunabulum

SERMONES THESAURI NOVI DE TEMPORE. Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1486. Folio.

References: Panzer I.29.80; CR 5413; Polain 2967.

Not in Stillwell: cf. P 475/6

The title-page is decorated very simply, with a strip of red wash under each line of title, and a ribbon of yellow, with red pen-strokes, beneath. There is some rubrication throughout; and there are decorative initials, mostly red, some of inky blue. The only elaborate initial is for the incipit of Sermo I: [D], twelve lines square, two shades of red, two shades of blue, yellow; graceful foliage and tendrils in the margin.

Binding old but not original. Strong boards covered with pigskin, natural color, blind tooling. The back is very firm; but the board in the front cover is broken; and the cover bulges. Two brass clasps on leather hinges, still quite firm. Initials WS on the brass catch of each clasp. Leaves of the last quire have been mended in the lower and outer margin, without damage to the letter-press. Margins have been trimmed, clipping the ends of ms. notes. The original letter-press is everywhere preserved. The covers are somewhat worm-eaten, as are the outer leaves, front and back; but most of the book is undamaged and all is easily legible. There are perhaps half a dozen

annotations by hand in the margins, mostly quite brief. On the front fly-leaf, is a librarian's annotation: Coll. Lini S. J.

This incunabulum is in the library of West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana, and was obtained in 1935 from St. John's College, Toledo, Ohio.

EDGAR R. SMOTHERS, S. J.

CR Reichling, Deitrich. Appendices ad . . . Copingeri Repertorium bibliographicum. Additiones et emendationes. 6 vols. and index. Monachii, 1905-1911 (Supplement, Monasterii, 1914).

Panzer Panzer, Georg Wolfgang. Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD . . . (ad annum MD XXXVI continuati) 11 vols. Norimbergae, 1793-1803.

Polain Polain, M.-Louis. Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique. 4 vols. Bruxelles, 1932.

The First Separate Printing of "Maud Muller"

WHITTIER, JOHN G. MAUD MULLER. Broadside, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$. n.p., n.d. (but certainly 1854).

A New England collector has recently acquired a broadside printing of Whittier's *Maud Muller*, reproduced opposite in reduced size, which this note will attempt to demonstrate from internal evidence is the first separate printing of the poem, and is certainly earlier than the broadside described at p. 78 of Currier's *Bibliography*, of which last I own one of the three or four known copies.

Apart from this Currier broadside there are two known printings of *Maud Muller*, both under Whittier's name, before he collected it in *The Panorama*, published in late March, 1856, viz., in *The National Era*, Dec. 28, 1854, of which Whittier was a contributing editor, and in D. W. Bartlett's *Modern Agitators*, New York and Auburn, 1855, at pp. 260-4, where it is described merely as "one of the latest productions of Mr. Whittier." An examination of these publications shows that the text in this new broadside and in *Modern Agitators* derives from a manuscript draft earlier than the corrected draft which served as the source of the other printings.

We can omit immediately, in our consideration, that the new broadside is printed without stanzas, instead of in the two-line stanzas of all the other printings. Where Maud and the Judge speak, in the new broadside, there

MAUD MULLER.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Maud Muller, on a summer's day,
Raked the meadow sweet with hay.
Beneath her torn hat glowed the wealth
Of simple beauty and rustic health.
Singing, she wrought, and her merry glee
The mock-bird echoed from every tree.
But when she glanced to the far-off town,
White from its hill-slope looking down,
The sweet song died, and a vague unrest
And a nameless longing filled her breast—
A wish, that she hardly dared to own,
For something better than she had known
The Judge rode slowly down the lane,
Smoothing his horse's chestnut mane.
He drew his bridle in the shade
Of the apple-trees, to greet the maid,
And ask a draught from the spring that flowed
Through the meadow across the road.
She stooped where the cool spring bubbled up,
And filled for him her small tin cup.
And blushed as she gave it, looking down
On her feet so bare, and her tattered gown.
"Thanks!" said the Judge, "a sweeter draught
From a fairer hand was never quaffed."
He spoke of the grass and flowers and trees,
Of the singing birds and the humming bees.
Then talked of the haying, and wondered whether
The cloud in the west would bring foul weather.
And Maud forgot her brier-torn gown,
And her graceful ankles bare and brown;
And listened, while a pleased surprise
Looked from her long-lashed hazel eyes.
At last, like one who for delay,
Seeks a vain excuse, he rode away.
Maud Muller looked and sighed, "Ah me!
That I the Judge's bride might be!
"He would dress me up in silks so fine,
And praise and toast me at his wine.
"My father should wear a broadcloth coat;
My brother should sail a painted boat.
"I'd dress my mother so grand and gay,
And the baby should have a toy each day.
"And I'd feed the hungry and clothe the poor,
And all should bless me who left our door."
The Judge looked back as he climbed the hill,
And saw Maud Muller standing still.
"A form more fair, a face more sweet,
Ne'er hath it been my lot to meet.
"And her modest answer and graceful air,
Show her wise and good as she is fair.
"Would she were mine, and I to-day,
Like her, a harvester of hay.
"No doubtful balance of rights and wrongs,
No weary lawyers with endless tongues.
"But low of cattle and song of birds,

And health and quiet and loving words."
But he thought of his sister, proud and cold,
And his mother, vain of her rank and gold.
So, closing his heart the Judge rode on,
And Maud was left in the field alone.
But the lawyers smiled that afternoon,
When he hummed in court an old love tune,
And the young girl mused beside the well.
Till the rain on the unraked clover fell.
He wedded a wife of richest dower,
Who lived for fashion, as he for power.
Yet oft, in his marble hearth's bright glow
He watched a bright picture come and go.
And sweet Maud Muller's hazel eyes
Looked out in their innocent surprise.
Oh, when the wine in his glass was red,
He longed for the wayside well instead.
And closed his eyes on the garnished rooms,
To dream of meadows and clover brooms.
And the proud man sighed with a secret pain.
"Ah, that I were free again!
"Free as when I rode that day,
Where the barefoot maiden raked the hay"
She wedded a man unlearned and poor,
And many children played round her door
But care and sorrow, and child-birth pain,
Left their traces on heart and brain.
And oft, when the summer sun shone hot,
On the new-mown hay in the meadow lot,
And she heard the little spring brook fall
Over the roadside, through the wall,
In the shade of the apple-tree again,
She saw a rider draw his rein,
And, gazing down, with a timid grace,
She felt his pleased eyes read her face.
Sometimes her narrow kitchen walls
Stretched away into stately halls;
The weary wheel to a spinnet turned,
The tallow candle an astral burned,
And for him who sat by the chimney-lug,
Dozing and grumbling o'er pipe and mug,
A manly form at her side she saw,
And joy was duty and love and law.
Then she took up her burden of life again,
Saying only, "It might have been."
Alas for maiden, alas for Judge,
For rich repiner and household drudge!
God pity them both! and pity us all,
Who vainly the dreams of youth recall.
For of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these: "It might have been."
Ah, well! for us all some sweet hope lies
Deeply buried from human eyes;
And, in the hereafter, angels may
Roll the stone from its grave away!

are quotes at the beginning of the 3d, 5th, etc., lines of their speech, showing that the new broadside is printed from a manuscript in two-line stanza form, which, because in that form, was obliged in such case to have quotes at the beginning of each *stanza*. Running it all together in the new broadside is, bibliographically, merely a printer's vagary. What we must consider, however, is that the source of the printing in *Modern Agitators* (and therefore the source of this broadside) is prior to the source of the *National Era* printing. *Modern Agitators* was copyrighted in 1854, and, although the copyright record does not exist (information from Library of Congress), so that it is just possible that the copyright might have been after Dec. 28, 1854, internal evidence from the text of the book supports the 1854 copyright, and not the 1855 title-page date, so that it is quite certain that this printing of the poem in the middle of a 396-page book could not possibly have been copied from so late an 1854 source as the holiday *National Era*.

The improvements, or at any rate final changes, in the poem which are found in the *National Era* and thereafter, may be exemplified by the following (the references are to the lines of the poem):

- 6. Broadside: The mock-bird echoed from every tree.
Bartlett: The mock-bird re-echoed from every tree.
National Era: The mock-bird echoed from his tree.
- 42. Broadside: And the baby should have a toy each day.
Bartlett: And the baby should have a new toy each day.
National Era: As Bartlett.
- 54. Broadside: No weary lawyers. . .
Bartlett: Nor weary lawyers. . .
National Era: Nor weary lawyers. . .
- 68. Broadside: He watched a bright picture. . .
Bartlett: He watched a bright picture. . .
National Era: He watched a picture. . .
- *71. Broadside: Oh, when the wine in his glass was red,
Bartlett: Oh, when the wine in his glass was red,
National Era: Oft, when the wine in his glass was red,
- 74. Broadside: . . . meadows and clover brooms.
Bartlett: . . . meadows and clover blooms.
National Era: . . . meadows and clover-blooms.
- 78. Broadside: . . . maiden raked the hay.
Bartlett: . . . maiden raked the hay.
National Era: . . . maiden raked her hay.
- *98. Broadside: And joy was duty and love and law.
Bartlett: And joy was duty and love and law.
National Era: And joy was duty and love was law.

* These versions in the broadside and Bartlett, which make no sense, are clearly misreadings of Whittier's never too legible handwriting.

Nothing in the types, the character of the paper, or the provenance (Essex County) helps us to date this new broadside. These comparisons, however, establish that it is pre-*National Era* in 1854, whereas the other broadside hitherto known, which has the *Era* text but not the *Panorama* corrections, is either post-*Era* in 1854, or at some later date before publication of *The Panorama*.

CARROLL A. WILSON

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

Dr. CHARLTON HINMAN is Assistant Professor of English at The Johns Hopkins University. He published several bibliographical articles before the war, and now, after four years with the Navy in the Southwest Pacific and elsewhere, is again at work on his study of the text of *Othello*. He remains in close contact with The Folger Shakespeare Library, where he was a Research Fellow when the war broke out.

LEON T. DICKINSON is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Missouri. His article in this issue is a portion of "Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*: Its Origin, Composition, and Popularity," his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago.

ROBERT H. TAYLOR of Yonkers, N. Y., is one of the younger American collectors, who specializes among other things on the works of Anthony Trollope.

WILLIAM PEERY, formerly Director of Theatre at Mount Holyoke College, is now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Texas. He has contributed bibliographical studies of seventeenth-century dramatic quartos to *English Studies*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, and *The Library*.

This number has been edited by EARLE F. WALBRIDGE, a member of the Reference staff at the Washington Square Library of New York University, during the absence on leave of Mr. McCombs. Mr. Walbridge is the author of *Literary Characters Drawn From Life* (1936); was a staff writer for *Twentieth Century Authors* (1942); and has contributed to *The Colophon*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, *The Publishers' Weekly*, *The Golden Book*, *The Baker Street Journal*, and others.

Book Reviews

HOFFMAN, FREDERICK J., CHARLES ALLEN, and CAROLYN F. ULRICH.

The Little Magazine, A History and a Bibliography. By Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1946. ix, 440 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches. \$3.75.

A highly specialized division of American literature has been laid out and surveyed exhaustively in this first full treatment of the rôle played in the development of modern writing by the small literary magazines. Their importance in giving opportunity for publication to new writers, and encouragement to the few greater talents among them, emerges clearly out of this scholarly, and yet often sprightly written, report on what must have been a difficult bit of research.

The "little magazine" was often a highly ephemeral publication. It was a venture launched in high hope of making a contribution to contemporary literature, but also in gross ignorance of the problems that printers brought, that distribution entailed. Many of these ventures fetched up promptly on the shoals of commerce; the number of wrecks on their first trip out charted in this volume is distressingly high. The authors of this "history and a bibliography" have done a useful job of literary salvage in recording the details of those ventures which foundered silently as well as those which lasted for some few years. Yet not more than a dozen of all the five hundred or more magazines listed here are still in existence. The little magazine seldom if ever grew to maturity.

This is not to deny its significance in a summary of the literary movements of this century. The little magazine was usually a self-consciously *avant-garde* publication, reacting sensitively and early to any new idea in the aesthetic atmosphere. Often the idea backed by a magazine especially created for its propagation was immature, ill-considered, or inappropriate in the American scene; but the important thing, which the authors of the history fully realize, is that each idea got its hearing, its chance to make a contribution to the intellectual life of the time, and an opportunity to attract proponents if it could. The freedom to experiment in ideals and values, in

literary form, and then to set forth the results in an at least partially organized aesthetic, had a yeasty effect upon the cultural life of America from roughly 1912 on into the early thirties. The more publicized functions of the little magazine, which were the discovery and first publication of writers who have since achieved a large and deserved reputation, is of far less importance than the creation of an atmosphere in which experiment was possible and even encouraged. It is of some significance that the editors of *The Double Dealer* had both the perspicacity and the luck to publish in May, 1922, the first work of Ernest Hemingway. Had the magazine never existed, Mr. Hemingway might have had to wait a little longer for his first publication, but an important element would have been missing from the "New South" — the encouragement to young writers that came from having a place to publish. The little magazine was a cultural influence in its total effect, whatever the quality and editorial judgment displayed in individual publications.

The book is divided in almost equal proportions between a history of the amazingly diverse, and often bizarre, publications, and a liberally annotated bibliography of what must be a well-nigh inclusive list of the magazines of the period. The first is popularly enough written to appeal to the thoughtful reader interested in ideas and literary movements; the second is intended to supplement the discussion, and to provide detailed help to students in literary history. In the history there are occasional judgments with which most critics could not agree, such as the authors' emphasis upon the importance of all the business misadventures of *The Midland*, or the refusal to characterize as meretricious much of the work that was only flamboyant and relentlessly "different." But the authors have caught some of the ebullience and hopeful enthusiasm which characterized the little magazine since 1912; they reflect faithfully the stirring times, the agreeable abundance of creative activity, the charitable reception accorded to dogmas and their literary expression.

There can be no two opinions about the competence and completeness of Miss Carolyn F. Ulrich's bibliography of the little magazine which forms the second half of the book. She has accomplished a task that must have had many ramifications, since publications as short-lived as many of the little magazines must often have dropped away with slight trace left behind. But here they are, listed and described in detail, with pertinent facts about each supplied by Mr. Hoffman. Miss Ulrich's and Mr. Hoffman's work together constitutes the first extensive and scholarly treatment

of the subject to appear. Scholars are going to have to consult this invaluable work of reference more and more often as we get further from the period it covers. Time, operating in its critical capacity, will make the little magazine an even richer source of detailed information about the literary activity of the first third of the twentieth century than we now know it to be.

WARREN BOWER

McKEON, NEWTON FELCH, AND KATHARINE CONOVER COWLES, *Editors. Amherst, Massachusetts, Imprints, 1825-1876*. Amherst, Massachusetts, Amherst College Library, 1946. 191 pp. Frontispiece. 6¼ x 9¼ inches. \$2.00.

It is particularly fitting that this bibliographical work, which was published upon the occasion of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Amherst College in June, 1946, should emanate from Amherst. The town serves as a kind of bibliographical center for Western Massachusetts with three fine libraries, the Amherst College Library, the Massachusetts State College Library, and the Jones Library. These libraries, together with the Smith College Library and the Forbes Library at Northampton, seven miles to the west, and the Mount Holyoke College Library at South Hadley, seven miles to the south, form a combined collection of more than a million volumes. The service rendered by these institutions to the whole region is unique.

The editors were exceedingly well qualified to undertake the task. Professor McKeon, Director of the Amherst College Library, has been interested in the subject for many years, while Miss Cowles, Head Cataloguer at the College Library, has catalogued many of the items which appear in the check list. They have produced a book which, by reason of the entries in the check list, really reflects the life of Amherst and that of the surrounding country during the period covered.

The preface states that "the intention of the compilers has been to present the fullest possible report of printing in Amherst, from its beginning through the year 1876. Each item described has been carefully examined for proof that it was indeed printed in Amherst. In only four instances was it necessary to break the rule that nothing would be described which could not be examined. Inaccessibility was overcome by recourse to photostats and detailed description." The terminal date, 1876, was chosen to con-

form with the check list published by the American Imprints Survey and with the projected Bibliography of American Imprints of the Bibliographical Society of America.

In an admirable historical introduction which follows, Professor McKeon outlines the early history of printing in the Connecticut Valley. The beginnings in Amherst were somewhat belated, probably because printers were established in Northampton and Greenfield, neighboring towns, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. There was little need for a press at Amherst, which was merely a farming community. By 1814 the situation changed. The old Amherst Academy opened its doors to students that year and Amherst College was founded in 1821. Because of political and religious opposition the State legislature did not grant the college its charter until 1825. Education and printing usually go hand in hand, and from that time on a printer could feel reasonably certain of the patronage of the College. The activities of the printers during the period under discussion are vividly described.

A chronology of Amherst printers from 1825 until 1876 follows the introduction, which in turn is followed by the check list, the main body of the work. Seven hundred and seven items, grouped by year of publication, are carefully recorded. The location of each item in various libraries throughout the country is noted. Many items are publications of Amherst College but publications of Amherst Academy, the Massachusetts State College and the old Mount Pleasant Classical Institution are included. Reports of the town of Amherst as well as those of neighbouring towns, sermons, church reports, and reports of agricultural societies, all of which reflect the life of the community, are represented.

Appendices listing doubtful imprints and Amherst publications printed elsewhere follow. A most useful key to locations in libraries of each item listed is included, while the indices, so necessary to a work of this kind, are extremely well done.

The volume is attractively printed and bound in a blue cloth. The editors are to be commended upon the completion of a thorough piece of work which involved almost endless searching and checking, as well as numerous trips to neighboring towns and libraries. The book well deserves a place upon the shelves of any library which makes any pretense whatsoever of collecting material relating to the history of American printing.

MARK KILEY

EAVENSON, HOWARD N. *Two Early Works on Arctic Exploration by an Anonymous Author*. Pittsburgh, Pa. July, 1946. 14 pp. 6 x 9 inches.

Mr. Eavenson presents arguments to show that Charles Swaine was the anonymous writer of two eighteenth-century works on the Northwest Passage, published in London. *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America. Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747, in the Ship California, Capt. Francis Smith, Commander. By the Clerk of the California. Adorned with Cuts and Maps*. London, Jonah Warrens, 1748-1749. 2 vols.

The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage: deduced from Observations on the Letter of Admiral DeFonte, Who Sailed from the Callao of Lima on the Discovery of a Communication between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; And to intercept some Navigators from Boston in New England, whom he met with, Then in Search of a Northwest Passage. Proving the Authenticity of the Admiral's Letter. With Three Explanatory Maps . . . By Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King. *With An Appendix. Containing the Account of a Discovery of Part of the Coast and Inland Country of Labrador, made in 1753. The Whole intended for the Advancement of Trade and Commerce*. London, Printed for Thomas Jefferys at Charing Cross. MDCCLXVIII. 4to, pp. xxiv, 154. 3 Maps.

Both books contain accounts of Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte's 1640 voyage from Lima, Peru, to the waters above Hudson Bay, and tell of his meeting Gibbons and Shapley in the ship from Boston, Massachusetts. If authentic, this voyage proved the existence of a Northwest Passage. While the Spanish officials and others denied its authenticity and called it a forgery, many considered it true and defended it. This discussion has been extended down to our own times. Charles Swaine was one of the de Fonte defenders.

In his *Foreword*, Mr. Eavenson states that Swaine told Governor Samuel Ogle, of Maryland, he was clerk of the *California* in the 1746-1747 search for the Northwest Passage; and that this was confirmed by Benjamin Franklin. Franklin also said that Swaine was the author of the two-volume account of the voyage. Under Franklin's sponsorship Swaine conducted two Northwest Passage voyages from Philadelphia. Part of the journal of 1753 appeared in the *Appendix* of *Great Probability* and both voyages were mentioned in the preface. Mr. Eavenson is trying to locate Swaine's journals and papers, hoping to find among them the chart or

charts that John Pattin (Patten) of Pennsylvania made in Labrador when he was with Swaine. He is also searching for a lost map Pattin made of part of Pennsylvania; and located his so-called "Traders' Map" in the Library of Congress.

This pamphlet lists some of the authorities who credit the books under discussion to Theodore Swaine Drage, William Drage or Dragge, or Theodore Swindrage. The correct spelling is Theodorus Swaine Drage, according to Mr. Eavenson. Careful examination of these books showed the same person wrote them, and research disclosed that there was a Theodorus Swaine Drage living at that time. However, our writer was unable to find any evidence connecting this man with explorations in Hudson Bay.

Mr. Eavenson mentioned that your reviewer arrived at the same conclusion of authorship, but through a different method. Let me explain that while I was trying to prove *Swaine* was the author, he was working on *Drage*. We discussed this by correspondence, Mr. Eavenson generously sharing his information. The most convincing evidence I could call to his attention was Franklin's letter to Cadwallader Colden on February 28, 1753, saying that the *Argo*, which was to sail soon, was "commanded by Mr. Swaine, who was in the last expedition in the California, and author of a Journal of that voyage in two volumes." A librarian working with me located this reference.

Numerous comparative selections from both books are given by Mr. Eavenson to prove Swaine's authorship of *Great Probability*; and attention is called to the corrections Swaine made after seeing the English translation of the de Fonte *Letter* published in the periodical: *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*. London: April and June, 1708. Swaine, in his earlier book, based his account of de Fonte on the abridged version published by Arthur Dobbs in: *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, etc. London, J. Robinson, 1744. Other pertinent information is given before Mr. Eavenson concludes with a summary to show why Theodorus Swaine Drage was not the author and that *Great Probability* was written by Charles Swaine.

Having commented on Charles Swaine, presented as explorer-writer, let me note that 1947 is the 194th anniversary of the sailing of the *Argo*, when Captain Charles Swaine went to complete the explorations for the Northwest Passage in Hudson Bay, which he believed was navigated in 1640 by Admiral de Fonte, and the men from Boston. If the Philadelphia

explorers failed to locate the passage, they were to explore the coast of Labrador and open up the trading there. In *Great Probability* Swaine used his successful explorations at Labrador to help promote and advance "Trade and Commerce."

BERTHA SOLIS-COHEN

FULTON, JOHN F., AND MADELINE E. STANTON. *The Centennial of Surgical Anesthesia: An Annotated Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets Bearing on the Early History of Surgical Anesthesia. Exhibited at the Yale Medical Library, October, 1946.* Compiled by John F. Fulton, M.D., and Madeline E. Stanton, A.B. New York, Henry Schuman, 1946. xv, 102 pp. Frontispiece. 9¼ x 6¼ inches.

The one hundredth anniversary of William T. G. Morton's use of ether in a surgical operation in Massachusetts General Hospital on October 16, 1846, gave rise to numerous publications. This well-annotated catalogue is certainly one of the most valuable. The first section, devoted to the forerunners of surgical anesthesia, is of necessity confined to a few examples of the sleeping potions of the ancients and the use of nitrous oxide, Mesmerism, and sulphuric ether in the early nineteenth century. The major part, including Sections II-V, is properly devoted to the original papers, biography of and commentary on Crawford Williamson Long, Horace Wells, William T. G. Morton and Charles Jackson, whose claims to the discovery of ether are even now heatedly disputed by protagonists. A section on Sir James Young Simpson and chloroform is followed by one on ether studies on individual surgical anesthetics to 1875 — opiates, nitrous oxide, Mesmerism, sulphuric ether, chloroform, ether, and chloroform compared. The remaining sections, allotted but a small space, consider early general monographs on surgical anesthesia, anesthesia and psychiatry, and the history and bibliography of surgical anesthesia. A proposed second part will cover regional block anesthesia and studies on individual anesthetics since 1875.

A brief introduction to each section provides the necessary background. Descriptions of entries include collation, contents, extensive notes, and location of copies. The bibliographies at the end of sections devoted to individuals cover biographical material and writings discussing the validity of claims to discovery.

Section IV on William T. G. Morton, Henry J. Bigelow, and Edward

Warren provides for the first time a detailed bibliography of the early accounts of the use of ether in surgery. The famous operation was first reported in the *Boston Daily Journal* for October 17, the day following the operation. The formal announcement of the discovery, written by Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, appeared in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for November 18. Bigelow's article, sent by his father, Jacob Bigelow, to Dr. Francis Boott of London, was reprinted in the *Lancet*, London, January 2, 1847. In a long note under this entry the compilers cite early references to ether in the British press. Morton, with Charles T. Jackson, applied for a patent and named the new drug "Letheon." The patent, dated November 12, 1846, was not published until February 12 of the following year. Early announcements signed by Morton appeared as hand-bills, in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, on the covers of several numbers of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, and in pamphlet form. His cause was early supported by Warren, whose *Some Account of the Letheon* went through three editions in 1847. Later writings of Morton include his report to the French Academy of Sciences refuting Jackson's claims made to that Society, a little known tract *On the Loss of Teeth*, and papers relating to the merits of ether and chloroform. Some of the original papers are of the utmost rarity today and of three of them no copies are known to have survived. Historians will be grateful to the compilers for assembling this material with such valuable and lengthy notes.

The catalogue is as attractively printed as is expected of a volume bearing the Schuman imprint, and is number 15 of the Publications of the Historical Library of the Yale Medical Library. It seems carping to make such a small complaint, but for the benefit of historians referring to entries in the catalogue, it would have been preferable to have them numbered consecutively throughout instead of separately by section.

GERTRUDE L. ANNAN

GUARNASCHELLI, TERESA M., AND ENRICHETTA VALENZIANI. *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia a cura del Centro Nazionale d'Informazioni Bibliografiche*. [Rome], La Libreria dello Stato, 1943. xxii, 295 pp. 1 leaf. 11 1/2 x 8 inches.

The first volume of this checklist, listing the incunabula in the libraries of Italy and published by the Ministero dell' Educazione Nazionale, will

prove itself useful to all librarians, scholars and booksellers. It contains 2290 numbers and covers the letters A-B of the alphabet.

This book may well be reviewed not only as a bibliographical tool in its own right but also as a subject for reflection on the holdings of incunabula by the great Italian libraries. This leads immediately to the two chief criticisms which present themselves to the present reviewer. The first of these is that the book is printed on the worst sort of paper (obviously the result of wartime publication — but would it not have been better to postpone printing until a more durable stock was once again available?). In the second place it would have increased the usefulness of the volume if the holdings of the Vatican Library had also been included. The Vatican, of course, is not a state library but to exclude its resources gives an altogether erroneous impression of the incunabula which the student may hope to consult on the Italian peninsula.

The volume itself is of handy size, simple and concise. Those incunables which have been adequately described in earlier bibliographies are listed in the simplest form, with direct references to the books where a full description may be found. Thirty-seven incunabula not previously (or correctly) listed are described in full with a plate for each hitherto unknown edition. The choice of authors' names, one of the thorniest problems in the listing of fifteenth-century books, is consistently handled in accordance with the principles set forth on page ix; the compilers have had the courage of their convictions and have listed Dante under Alighieri (something not even the *Gesamtkatalog* dared to do). This writer is delighted to note that usually the mediaeval ascriptions have been retained and no "Pseudos" are encountered; thus the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is placed under Bonaventura (to whom it was ascribed for centuries) rather than under the current contender for the authorship of this work or under Pseudo-Bonaventura (whoever and whatever that may be or mean). The proof-reading was obviously done with care. A serious fault, however, is the fact that no cross-references are found in the body of the text. Place-names are given in the Italian form and some Anglo-American readers may be puzzled by Ginevra, Lione, Magonza, Siviglia, Stoccolma, etc. Since, however, all incunabulists up to the present have cited place-names in the form familiar to them, one can hardly quarrel with this practice.

As might well be expected, Italian editions comprise the preponderant part of the 2290 numbers, amounting to 71% of the total. Since the letters A-B may well be taken as a characteristic cross-section of the entire book-

production of the fifteenth century, this indicates that the Italian public libraries as a whole do not contain a particularly well-rounded collection; the proportion of Italian incunabula to the total number in both Proctor and the Morgan *Check List* is only 42% of these listings. There are 656 non-Italian editions in the present volume, but only one-half of one per cent of the editions here listed is the total for the books printed outside of Italy, Germany or France. Again there are notable specific gaps; no Italian public library has a copy of the 42-line Bible (though the Vatican has two) or of the 36-line Bible (there is none in the United States either). There is not a single fragment of the numerous "Coster" editions of the *Doctrinale* by Alexander de Villa Dei. The six earliest editions of the *Decameron* are represented by only one copy each of the first two printings. Of the nineteen editions of Boccaccio's several works in foreign tongues, only one French version is present and no copy is listed for the first edition of the same writer's *Ninfale fiesolano*. All three of the 1471 Dantes are found only in the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan and in the Casa Dante in Rome (this library having two of them in imperfect copies). On the credit side, we find quite naturally that some rare Italian towns are included among the present numbers; for example, Capua (2083), Casal Monferrato (1585), San Cesario (1533), Savona (1820) and Trevi (1279 and 1368), none of which is represented in the British Museum collection. Among the previously undescribed works, Dante and Boccaccio are each credited with two new editions; three new liturgical books (one being a *Breviarium Carthaginense*, a title not found in the *Gesamtkatalog*) and a like number of previously unknown scientific works (including an *Articella*) are noted. Italian libraries also contain examples of both of the Czech Bibles and, of the nine earliest German Bibles, all but the third and the fifth may be consulted in such institutions.

In conclusion, it need only be stated that the *Indice* is a very satisfactory reference book. One can only hope that the Italian government can find the means to continue the publication (on better paper) and not let the project lapse as happened in the case of Mlle. Pellechet's similar list for France.

CURT F. BÜHLER

ELLISON, RHODA COLEMAN. *A Check List of Alabama Imprints 1807-1870* . . . University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1946. 2 prelim. leaves, ii, 151 p. Planographed. 8½ x 5½ inches. \$1.75.

Miss Ellison's *Check List* consists of three parts: a section on newspapers, one on periodicals, and a third on books, pamphlets, broadsides, maps and music. It is based upon Alabama imprints in libraries and private collections, and upon a variety of secondary sources such as the American Imprints Inventory *Check List of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1840*, R. R. Bowker's *Alabama State Publications* and Caroline P. Engstfeld's *Bibliography of Alabama Authors*. To what degree Miss Ellison has seen the works themselves or has relied upon other sources it is difficult to establish. In describing the books which comprise the greater part of the work, she gives a brief transcription of the title-page, the number of pages, and a reference to a copy or to her source of information. Aside from citing a single copy of a work in such cases she does not give locations of copies. When a reference rather than a copy is given it is necessary to go back to the former for the locations of the copies noted there.

For the period prior to 1841 she has relied heavily upon the American Imprints Inventory *Check List*, although Miss Ellison states that she has added to it sixty-seven items. For the post-1840 period she has not had recourse to any such comprehensive work: she has had to rely upon such titles as are found in Alabama libraries, and has evidently done little work in libraries outside that area.

As a check list, her work possesses the merit of being, aside from the period covered by the Inventory *Check List*, a first effort in its field. In view of the degree to which Miss Ellison has had to rely upon the Inventory for the earlier period, it is doubtful if the later period, based to so large an extent upon Alabama libraries, is anywhere near comprehensive. Even in relying upon secondary sources, had she made use of the Boston Athenaeum's bibliography of *Confederate Literature* Miss Ellison would have added at least thirteen titles or editions for the 1861-1865 period. She would have found other titles in W. O. Waters' "Confederate Imprints in the Henry E. Huntington Library . . ." in the *Papers* of this Society, v. 23 (1929), p. 18-109, and in the bibliographies of Confederate imprints which Mr. Waters cites.

It is unfortunate indeed that fuller resources were not available to Miss Ellison. Since they were not, it will be difficult to rely upon the comprehensiveness of the work. Should the *Check List* stimulate an interest in the

collecting of Alabama imprints it will perhaps have served its purpose. On the other hand, were it to discourage any one else from publishing a bibliography covering the same field it would be most regrettable.

JOHN ALDEN

A Catalogue of the First Editions of First Books in the Collection of Paul S. Seybolt [Device] With an Introduction by Carroll A. Wilson. Boston, 1946. viii, 79 pp. Frontispiece, facsimiles. 9½ x 6 inches. \$5.00.

This handsomely printed volume is one of those too-rare, and consequently all the more enjoyable, book catalogues which can be read with pleasure as well as profit by the ordinary, widely read layman who seldom bothers his head with points, editions, or any other bibliographical paraphernalia. Mr. Seybolt quite evidently had a good deal of fun assembling these books, and his highly readable annotations transmit that pleasure. He has organized an extremely interesting as well as valuable personal library around his central, dominating idea, and he has been notably successful in the quality as well as the extent of his achievement. Mr. Carroll A. Wilson, who is familiar with the collection, points out that of the 431 titles listed, fully a quarter of them are presentation or association copies, and that the books are in superlative condition, amazing in a collection of first books. Mr. Wilson continues:

Considering the three limitations of available time, available means, and years one has been at it, the reader must bow the head before many of these books. A correct King James Bible is one of the scarcest great books in the world. "Alonzo and Melissa," "The Foresters," "Timothy Peacock" (unique in its listed state), "Precaution" and Evans's "Pedestrious Tour" honor any collection of American books, as do, for England, the Ben Jonson folio, "A Study in Scarlet," and first books of Ainsworth, Lever, Lytton, Tennyson, Thackeray and Trollope (a very scarce piece). Add to that Mark Twain, Dana, the recently discovered Longfellow, Melville, Parkman and Thoreau, and it is clear that this list has the great names as well as the (often) far harder to get minor ones.

Mr. Wilson also remarks that "No one who has never tried to do it can begin to realize the amount of labor necessary to obtain the complete correct names of these various authors." Mr. Seybolt has made a valiant attempt, and has turned up many surprising combinations (such as Frederic Sackrider Remington and Oliver Brooke Herford), but his success is not complete. He omits the maiden names of Gertrude Atherton (Horn), and

"Laurence Hope" (Cory) (though he lists the latter under Nicolson, where only the initiate can find her). Edgar Wallace, the illegitimate son of Richard Horatio Edgar, was given his father's full name. Mr. Seybolt spells Hermann Hagedorn "Herman"; Charles Farrar Browne ("Artemus Ward") "Brown"; Arthur Stuart Menteth Hutchinson "Menteith"; omits Noel Coward's middle name (Pierce) and William de Morgan's (Frend). If Thomas Woodrow Wilson, why not John Calvin Coolidge? And Wilfred Grenfell was better known as Sir Wilfred. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Seybolt searched three years for a fine copy of Marjorie Bowen's *The Viper of Milan* (and found one). When he says, however, that "Miss Bowen's later literary successes are not so closely associated with her own name as with her pseudonym 'George Preedy'", this reviewer would prefer to substitute "Joseph Shearing" for Preedy. And, of course, Mr. Seybolt shouldn't spell Dr. Thorndyke "Thorndike." I must also repudiate Mr. Wilson's remark that I (as part of his collective "you") "never heard of Charles Fort." However, I was certainly unfamiliar with Fort's first book, *The Outcast Manufacturers*, a picture of slum life in New York.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE